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Archæological & Natural History
Society.*

Proceedings during the Year 1880.

VOL. XXVI.



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SOMERSETSHIRE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND
NATURAL HISTORY
SOCIETY'S
PROCEEDINGS, 1880.



VOL. XXVI.

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Preface.

The publication of the Churchwardens' Accounts of S. Michael's Church, Bath, has been concluded in the present volume.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Jas. Parker for the drawings from which the illustrations to his paper on Glastonbury Abbey are taken; also to Mr. Mc Murtrie for the plan of the Lamb Bottom Cavern at Harptree, and to Mr. Dymond for the drawing of the Abbot's Way.

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Proceedings
of the
Somersetshire Archæological and
Natural History Society,
during the year 1880.

THE Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Glastonbury, on Tuesday, August 17th, 1880, under circumstances which were in every respect favourable to the proceedings. The weather was fine, and there was a large attendance of Members both from a distance and from towns in the vicinity. The Local Committee (of which Mr. J. G. L. Bulleid was the Secretary) did everything in their power to promote the comfort of the visitors; the Mayor (Mr. J. A. Porch) working hard in conjunction with the other Members of the Committee to give the Society a hearty welcome.

Glastonbury was the centre of the Society's Annual Meeting in 1859, under the presidency of F. H. Dickinson, Esq. But very little of the old ground was gone over on the present occasion—Meare, Butleigh, and Street being the only places then visited, which were included in this year's programme. Indeed there is no cause for fear that a second visit to the same locality, after an interval of some years, should have the effect of detracting from the interest of the visit. Much light will have been thrown on many matters of Archæology and Natural History, as affecting the locality, in the interval. Fresh speakers will have been suggested, who may be asked to address the Meeting, and many new Members, it is to be hoped, will have been added to the list.

A Local Museum was opened in the Town Hall for the display of objects of Archæological interest and specimens of Natural History, more especially connected with the town and

its immediate neighbourhood. It was under the management of the Society's Curator (Mr. Wm. Bidgood), who was assisted by Mr. E. B. Sly of Glastonbury, and a list of the more interesting objects exhibited will be found further on. The Museum was opened to the public on Friday and attracted considerable attention among the inhabitants of Glastonbury and the vicinity.

The proceedings commenced at 11 o'clock, when the public Meeting was opened in the Town Hall.

MR. DICKINSON, having been called to the chair, stated that it was usual for the President for the past year to introduce his successor to the Society, but as that could not be so this year, he, as the oldest Vice-President, had been called upon to perform that duty. Canon Meade was the President, but he had died during his term of office, and he could not but say a word in kindly remembrance of him. He was a man whom everybody respected and loved; he managed his parish well, and had also won great respect at Wells, and he was always ready to lend his assistance and ability if they were needed. He was a man of ability, of acquirements, a scholar, and a man of accomplishments very uncommon indeed. Under these circumstances they could not but regret his loss, which was somewhat unexpected, for although he was an old man, he was very vigorous. Mr. Dickinson then proposed that Mr. Freeman be the President of the Society for the ensuing year, which was carried by acclamation.

MR. FREEMAN, on taking the chair, thanked the Meeting for again electing him as their President, after a period of nine years.

MR. C. J. TURNER (Hon. Sec.) then read the following

Report of the Council.

"The Council of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society have the honour to present their 32nd Annual Report.

"Before all other matters they desire to express their deep

sorrow at the loss which the Society has sustained in the death of its late President. Canon Meade was one of the original Members of the Society, and for the last two years presided over it. He constantly attended its Annual Meetings, and his varied knowledge and genial manners made his presence most acceptable. The Society will join in the general feeling of regret for the loss of one whose old age was adorned by all that is good and gracious. The Council regret also to have to record the loss of a distinguished Member of their Committee in the death of General Munro, C.B. He was well known as an eminent botanist, and many contributions from his pen will remain as standard works on his favourite science.

“The Society maintains its position as regards numbers, which are nearly the same as last year.

“Your Council find considerable difficulty in meeting the expenses of the Society, and are forced, from want of funds, to abstain from helping many undertakings, and making many acquisitions, which would be of benefit to the cause of local knowledge. With the view of increasing the income of the Society, a resolution was passed at your last Annual Meeting at Taunton, approving the suggestion contained in the Report of the Council for the year, that the annual subscription should be raised from 10s. to the more usual amount of 10s. 6d. At a Special General Meeting of the Society, convened for the purpose of considering this proposal, it was resolved, ‘That the question of an increase of subscription be adjourned until the next Annual General Meeting; and that in summoning that meeting notice should be given that the question of an increase of the Annual Subscription will be brought forward for consideration.’ Your Council now beg to ask the direction of the Society as to whether the Annual Subscription shall be raised, and if so, by what amount.

“The condition of the buildings of the Society is tolerably satisfactory, and the debt on the Castle Purchase Fund has been reduced by about £90 during the past year.

“Your Council report that the roads and ways over the Castle Green to the Taunton Castle and the adjoining property of the Society have not yet been properly made. As these approaches are constantly blocked up on market days, your Council ask authority from the General Meeting to have proper roads and pathways made, in accordance with the powers and plans contained in the conveyances to the Trustees of this Society.

“Through the kind intervention of one of your Vice-Presidents (Mr. W. Long, of Wrington), the Council had the opportunity of buying, for £100, the interesting and valuable collection of Manuscripts, Books, &c., relating to this county, made by Mr. Serel, of Wells. An appeal for subscriptions for this purchase has produced the sum of £85, and the Society is much indebted to those of its Members who have kindly subscribed this amount. A list of subscribers will be found in the volume of *Proceedings* for the year. The Council advise that the Society should sanction the payment of the balance of £15 out of the bequest of the late Sir W. C. Trevelyan.

“A Committee appointed by the Society has been enabled by private subscriptions, to make extensive excavations at Pen Pits. The result of this investigation is embodied in an able report, which will be found in the volume of *Proceedings* for this year. A small balance of £3 10s. 10d. remains over from the subscriptions raised for this purpose, and the Council, understanding that it is not the desire of the subscribers that it should be returned to them, would be glad to receive instructions as to its disposal.

“During the past year your Museum has been enriched by a collection of Greensand fossils, kindly presented by Mr. C. H. Fox, of Wellington; by some bronze implements found at Taunton, which are now to be seen here in the local Museum; by the presentation of surplus specimens of Indian seeds and manufactures, formerly belonging to the late India Museum; and by other objects of interest.

Taunton Castle Purchase Fund.

Treasurers' Account to Aug. 6th, 1880.

<i>Receipts.</i>				<i>Expenditure.</i>			
		£	s d			£	s d
By Donations	...	15	0 0	To Balance, Aug. 2nd, 1879	...	141	12 8
„ Proceeds of Fancy Ball, held	...			„ Repairs to Buildings, &c.	...	19	9 0
„ at Taunton, Dec., 1879	...	33	7 9	„ Insurance	...		4 0 6
„ Rents of premises	...	60	8 9	„ Rates and Taxes	...		7 8 1
„ Rent of Castle Hall	...	64	7 0	„ Attendance at Castle Hall and sundry	...		
„ Balance	...	51	1 7	Expenses	...		5 6 0
				„ Gas	...		6 7 8
				„ Interest on Borrowed Money	...	40	1 2
		<u>£ 224</u>	<u>5 1</u>			<u>£ 224</u>	<u>5 1</u>
				1880. Aug. 6th.			
				Balance	...	51	1 7
				Loan	...	700	0 0
				Total amount due to Stuckey's Banking	...		
				Company	...	£ 751	1 7

H. & H. J. BADCOCK, *Treasurers*.

Aug. 12th, 1880. Examined, compared with the vouchers, } Wm. P. PINCHARD,
and found correct, } THOS. MEYLER.

The reports were adopted, on the motion of the BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, seconded by the Rev. W. HUNT.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD proposed the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, which was seconded by Dr. PRING, and carried.

Dr. PRING proposed the re-election of the Treasurers, which was agreed to.

Mr. SURTEES said that those who saw the work of the Society going on harmoniously did not know the complicated matters the Secretaries had to contend with, nor the amount of labour and skill required to carry on the work satisfactorily. For all this they were indebted to their Secretaries, and he begged to propose the re-election, as Honorary General Secretaries, of the Rev. W. Hunt, Mr. O. W. Malet, and Mr. C. J. Turner.—Carried unanimously.

Mr. A. MALET proposed the re-election of the Local Secretaries, with the addition of Mr. J. G. L. Bulleid for Glastonbury, to whom they were indebted for the preparations made for the meeting. This proposition was carried.

Mr. TURNER proposed the following gentlemen as Members of the Committee:—Mr. A. Maynard, Mr. Meyler, Mr. W. P. Pinchard, Mr. E. Sloper, Mr. St. David Kemeys Tynte, Rev. J. W. Ward.—Carried.

The Rev. W. HUNT proposed the re-election of their Curator and Assistant-Secretary, Mr. W. Bidgood, who was the most important officer the Society had. He was possessed of a good education, and combined an amount of skill and industry rare in the service of a Society like theirs.

This was seconded by Dr. PRING and agreed to.

Some discussion took place on the question of the place of meeting for next year, and Clevedon was mentioned as a suitable place. Ultimately, on the proposition of the Rev. W. HUNT, it was resolved "That the Council be empowered to select a place for the next Annual Meeting, and to appoint a President."

Eleven new members were elected.

Mr. SURTEES proposed "that the Committee have the authority to act as may appear necessary in the matter of constructing the roadways across the Castle Green to the Castle and the other premises belonging to the Society."

The Rev. W. HUNT seconded the proposition, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

Inaugural Address.

IT is now nine years since I was first placed by the favour of the Society in the chair which I am to-day again called on to fill. It will, I hope, not be thought disrespectful to the place in which that meeting of nine years ago was held, if I say that, compared at least with the place in which we are now met, it hardly claims a place among the great historic sites of England, or even of Somerset. Chosen President at Crewkerne, I could hardly have filled up the usual measure of a presidential address with a discourse on the history of Crewkerne only. Let me not be understood as at all despising or undervaluing the history of Crewkerne. I have not the slightest doubt that a volume of real value might be filled with the history of Crewkerne, or of any other market-town in this shire or in any other. But such a volume would be a volume

of local detail, of detail out of which the general historian would be able to glean, here and there, matter of real value for general history. It would hardly be a volume full of the records of great historical events, of foundations famous beyond the bounds of this island, of the goings forth and comings in of men whose names are written for ever in the history of our own island and of other lands. It would not supply many of those striking points, of those marked likenesses and contrasts, which form the natural material of such a discourse as that which it is my duty to lay before you to-day. In speaking to you therefore at Crewkerne, I had but little to say about Crewkerne itself. I took the opportunity, as some of the few whose memory may go back over so long a time as nine years may perchance remember, to speak on the general study of those branches of knowledge whose local aspect it is the object of our Society to cultivate. I tried, if I may be allowed to repeat myself, to insist on two special points. Those were, first the proper way of studying local history as a contribution to general history, and secondly the natural connexion between the two branches of study which our Society undertakes, antiquities and natural history. I tried to show that the two were in fact only branches of one study, that he who puts together a record of the strata of the earth, and he who puts together a record of the political changes of England or of any other land, are in truth only working at different stages of one great story. I tried to show that all those studies are joined together by a natural tie, in distinction from certain other studies, studies which we all, I hope, hold in the respect which is due to them, but which have little or nothing to do with our immediate business as a Society for the study of archaeology and natural history. That old phrase of "natural history" is, I think, a happy one. It tells us that the history of the earth itself and of its inhabitants other than man is closely linked, as no separate study but another branch of the same study, with the history of man himself. We have to-day the pleasure

of seeing some among us who have made themselves a name by their researches into those earliest regions of history whose records are to be spelled out among the rocks and the remains which the rocks shelter. I believe—I may say, I know—that they will fully bear me out as to the near connexion which I wish to insist on between their studies and my own.

But if at Crewkerne we were driven by the necessity of the case to think less of the particular spot where we were met, and more of the general subjects of our studies, it is otherwise in the place where we are come together to-day. Here at Glastonbury we have assuredly no lack of work before us, even if we keep ourselves to the history of Glastonbury only. I need not run off from the field immediately before us to lay down general principles of any kind. But I may try to carry out at Glastonbury the general principles which I tried to lay down at Crewkerne. It is not my business to-day to speak of the details of the history of Glastonbury, still less to speak of the details of its buildings. Those duties belong to others. Nor shall I have time to follow the history of Glastonbury for more than a few stages of its long historic being. And, as I feel no call to parade my ignorance by talking about what I do not understand, least of all am I tempted to hold forth on the geological peculiarities of the district. Still the country has natural features which must force themselves even on an untechnical eye, and those natural features are closely connected with the history. More truly they are the key to the history, the causes of the history. I shall do best to keep myself to those features in local history and legend which are most distinctive, which are in truth altogether unique, and which give the spot on which we stand an historic character unlike that of any other spot.

We will ask then first of all, What is the history of Glastonbury? Every one can answer at once that it is the history of a great monastery. The history of Glastonbury is the history of its abbey. Without its abbey, Glastonbury were nothing.

The history of Glastonbury is not as the history of York or Chester or Lincoln or Exeter; it is not as the history of Bristol or Oxford or Norwich or Coventry. It is not the stirring history of a great city or of a great military post. The military, the municipal, and the commercial history of Glastonbury might be written in a small compass, and it would very largely belong to modern times. The history of Glastonbury is a purely ecclesiastical history, a history like that of Wells and Lichfield, of Peterborough and Crowland. Again, unlike the history of Wells and Lichfield, but like the history of Peterborough and Crowland, it is a purely monastic history. No one who has read the signatures to the Great Charter can fail to know that there have been bishops of Glastonbury; but Glastonbury looked on its bishops only as momentary intruders, and was glad to pay a great price to get rid of them. But even the short reign of the bishops did not affect the purely monastic character of Glastonbury; no one ever tried at Glastonbury, as was tried at Winchester, at Coventry, and at Malmesbury, to displace the monks in favour of secular priests. But again, among monastic histories, the history of Glastonbury has a character of its own which is wholly unique. I will not insult its venerable age by so much as contrasting it with the foundations of yesterday which arose under the influence of the Cistercian movement, foundations which have covered some parts of England with the loveliest of ruins in the loveliest of sites, but which play but a small part indeed in the history of this church and realm. Glastonbury is something more than Netley and Tintern, than Rievaulx and Fountains. But it is something more again than the Benedictine houses which arose at the bidding of the Norman Conqueror, of his house or of his companions. It is something more than Selby and Battle, than Shrewsbury and Reading. It is, in its own special aspect, something more even than that royal minster of Saint Peter, the crowning-place of Harold and of William, which came to supplant Glastonbury as the

burial-place of kings. Nay, it stands out distinct, as having a special character of its own, even among those great and venerable foundations of English birth which were already great and venerable when the Conqueror came. There is something at Glastonbury which there is not at Peterborough and Crowland and Evesham, in the two minsters of Canterbury and in the two minsters of Winchester. Those are the works of our own people; they go back to the days of our ancient kingship; they go back, some of them, to the days of our earliest Christianity; but they go back no further. We know their beginnings; we know their founders; their history, their very legends, do not dare to trace up their foundations beyond the time of our own coming into this island. Winchester indeed has a tale which carries up the sanctity of the spot to Lucius the King and Eleutherius the Pope; but legend itself does not attempt to bridge over the whole space, or to deny that, whatever Lucius and Eleutherius may have done, Cenevalh and Birinus had to do over again, as though it had never been done. The mighty house of Saint Alban, in its site, in its name, in the very materials of its gigantic minster, carries us back beyond the days of our own being in this land. But it is only in its site, in its name, in its materials, that it does so. If the church of Roman Alban was built of Roman bricks on the site of Alban's martyrdom, it was built by English and Norman hands; it was built because an English king had of his own choice thought good to honour the saint of another people who had died ages before his time. But there is no historic or even legendary continuity between the days of Alban the saint and the days of Offa the founder. It is at Glastonbury, alone among the great churches of Britain—we instinctively feel that on this spot the name of *England* is out of place—that we walk with easy steps, with no thought of any impassable barrier, from the realm of Arthur into the realm of Ine. Here alone does legend take upon itself to go up, not only to the beginnings of English Christianity, but to the

beginnings of Christianity itself. Here alone do the early memories of the other nations and other Churches of the British islands gather round a holy place which long possession at least made English. Here alone, alongside of the memory and the tombs of West-Saxon princes who broke the power of the Northman, there still abides the memory, for ages there was shown the tomb, of the British prince who, if he did not break, at least checked for a generation, the advancing power of the West-Saxon. The church which was the resting-place of Eadgar, of his father and of his grandson, claimed to be also the resting-place of Arthur. But at Glastonbury this is a small matter. The legends of the spot go back to the days of the Apostles. We are met at the very beginning by the names of Saint Philip and Saint James, of their twelve disciples, with Joseph of Arimathæa at their head. Had Wells or even Bath laid claim to such an illustrious antiquity, their claims might have been laughed to scorn by the most ignorant; at Glastonbury such claims, if not easy to prove, were at least not easy to disprove. If the Belgian Venta claims ten parts in her own Lucius, the isle of Avalon claims some smaller share in him. We read the tale of Fagan and Deruvian; we read of Indractus and Gildas and Patrick and David and Columb and Bridget, all dwellers in or visitors to the first spot where the Gospel had shone in Britain. No fiction, no dream, could have dared to set down the names of so many worthies of the earlier races of the British islands in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham or of Peterborough. Now I do not ask you to believe these legends; I do ask you to believe that there was some special cause why legends of this kind should grow, at all events why they should grow in such a shape and in such abundance, round Glastonbury alone of all the great monastic churches of Britain. And I ask you to come on to something more like history. Elsewhere even forged charters do not venture to go beyond the days of Æthelberht. But Glastonbury professed to have a charter dating, as far as chronology

goes, only from the days of Æthelberht, but which claimed, truly or falsely, to belong to a state of things which in Kent would carry us back before the days of Hengest. In one page of his history William of Malmesbury records a charter of the year 601 granted by a king of Damnonia whose name he could not make out, to an abbot whose name—will our Welsh friends, if any are here to day, forgive him?—at once proclaimed his British barbarism.¹ Then follows a charter of 670 of our own West-Saxon Cenwealh. Then follows one of 678 of Centwine the King, then one of Baldred the King, then the smaller and greater charters of Ine the glorious King. Except the difficulty of making out his name, there is nothing to hint that any gap parted the unknown Damnonian from Cenwealh wider than the gap which parted Cenwealh from Centwine, Baldred, and Ine. One to be sure is King of Damnonia, another is King of the West-Saxons. But that might be a mere change of title, as when the King of the West-Saxons grew into the King of the English. The feeling with which we read that page of William of Malmesbury's History of Glastonbury is the same as that with which we read one of those lists of Emperors in which Charles the Great succeeds Constantine the Sixth, with no sign of break or change. It is the feeling with which we read those endless entries in Domesday from which we might be led to believe that William the Conqueror was the peaceful successor of Eadward the Confessor. In this, as in ten thousand other cases, the language of formal documents would by itself never lead us to understand the great facts and revolutions which lurk beneath their formal language.

But we must stop to see what legends and documents prove as well as what they do not prove. We need not believe that the Glastonbury legends are records of facts; but the existence

(1). See the alleged charter in Gale's edition, 308. Hearne, 48. The date is given as 601; the king is described as "Rex Domnoniæ," and it is added, "Quis iste rex fuerit scedulæ vetustas negat scire." There is a curious marginal note in Hearne's edition.

of those legends is a very great fact. I will not as yet search into the genuineness of either the Damnonian or the West-Saxon document. They are equally good for my purpose, even if both of them can be shown to be forgeries. The point is this. Compare Glastonbury and Canterbury. We have no legends tracing up the foundation of Christ Church or Saint Augustine's to the days of the Apostles, or to the days of any Roman emperor or British king. Instead of such legends we have a bit, perhaps of genuine history, at all events, of highly probable tradition, which seems to show that, in setting up new churches for men of English race, some regard was paid to the still remembered sites and ruins which had once been the churches of men of Roman or British race.¹ In most places we do not find even this much of remembrance of the state of things which had passed away; at Canterbury we do find this much. But this is widely different from the absolute continuity of the Glastonbury legends, in which Joseph of Arimathæa and Dunstan appear as actors in different scenes of the same drama. So again, at Canterbury no monk of Christ Church or Saint Augustine's, not the most daring forger that ever took pen in hand, would have dared to put forward a charter of Vortigern in favour of his house, immediately followed by a charter of Hengest. In Kent at least the temporal conquest of the Briton by the Jute, the spiritual conquest of the Jute by the Roman, were too clearly stamped on the memories of men, they were too clearly written in the pages of Bæda, to allow of any confusion about such matters. There at least men know that, if the reign of Woden had given way to the reign of Christ and Gregory, the reign of Christ and Cæsar had once given way to the reign of Woden. There at least the great gulf of Teutonic conquest still yawned too wide for either legends or documents to bridge it over. But here, in the isle of Avalon, legends and documents go on as if no such gulf had ever yawned at all. The truth is that

(1). See Bæda, i. 33.

this unbroken continuity of legends—it matters not whether true or false—of documents—it matters not whether genuine or spurious—is the surest witness of the fact that in the isle of Avalon Teutonic conquest meant something widely different from what it meant in the isle of Thanet. In our Glastonbury story Teutonic conquest goes simply for nothing. My argument is that it could not have gone for nothing, even in the mind of an inventor of legends or a forger of documents, unless it had been, to say the least, something much less frightful on the banks of the Brue than it was on the banks of the Stour. I argue that the coming of our forefathers was not here, as it was there, something which made an utter break between the days before it and the days after it. It was a mighty change indeed, but still a change through which men and their institutions might contrive to live, not something before which they had simply to perish or to flee away, leaving behind them only feeble memories or shattered ruins.

The simple truth then is this, that, among all the greater Churches of England, Glastonbury is the only one where we may be content to lay aside the name of England and fall back on the older name of Britain. It is the one great religious foundation which lived through the storm of English conquest, and in which Briton and Englishman have an equal share. At no other place do we so fully stand face to face with the special history of the land from the Axe south-westward. Nowhere else can we so fully take in the fact of the living on of a certain Celtic element under Teutonic rule, the process by which the Britons of this land were neither wholly slaughtered nor wholly driven out, but were to a great extent, step by step, assimilated with Englishmen. Nowhere else in short do we so clearly see the state of things which is pictured to us as still fresh in the laws of Ine, but which had come to an end before the putting forth of the laws of Ælfred. The church of Glastonbury, founded by the Briton, honoured and enriched by the Englishman, is the material memorial of the days when

Briton and Englishman, conquered and conqueror, lived under the same law, though not an equal law, under the same protection, though not an equal protection, on the part of the West-Saxon king.¹ Nowhere is there the same unbroken continuity, at all events of religious life. At Canterbury Christ was worshipped by the Englishman on the same spot on which he had been worshipped by the Briton. But there was a time between, a time in which, on the same spot or on some spot not far from it, Englishmen had bowed to Woden. But there never was a moment when men of any race bowed to Woden in the isle of Avalon. Men had doubtless bowed, in days which in Cenwealh's days were ancient, to the gods of the Briton and the Roman; but no altars ever smoked to our Teutonic gods within the shores of the holy island or on the peak of the holy hill which soars above it. The cause of the difference is a simple one. We read in the Chronicle thirteen years before that fight at the Pens which made this land English—"Her Cenwealh was gefullod."² The Teutonic conqueror of Avalon was one who had been himself washed, enlightened, made whole, in other words baptized into the faith of Christ. Those whom he conquered were his brethren. He came therefore not, as Hengest and Ælle, simply to destroy. In other parts of the West-Saxon realm the coming of Cerdic and Ceawlin had been as fearful as the coming of Hengest and Ælle. But Avalon and the coast thereof, the land of the Sumorsætan from the Axe westward, was the prize of a conqueror who was Hengest and Æthelberht in one. Under him the bounds of English conquest were still enlarged; but English conquest no longer meant death or slavery to the conquered, it no longer meant the plunder and overthrow of the temples of the Christian faith. The victor of Bradford and the Pens had, before he marched forth to victory, done

(1). This is the character of the laws of Ine as regards the relations of the two races. I hinted at this characteristic of his stage in West-Saxon history in my article on "*The Shire and the Gá.*"

(2). See the Chronicles under the year 646.

over again what men fondly deemed to be the work of Lucius ; he had timbered the old church at Winchester.¹ He was therefore ready to spare, to protect, to enrich, to cherish as the choicest trophy of his conquest, the church which he found already timbered to his hand in Ynysvitrin.

And now what will be said if, after all this, I go on to tell you that I am strongly inclined to the belief that Glastonbury, with all its long legendary history, is not a foundation of any astounding antiquity ? I believe that, in mere point of years, it may very likely be younger than Christ Church at Canterbury. Such was the idea which was thrown out by Dr. Guest at Salisbury in 1849, and at which I hinted at Sherborne in 1874.² If ever anything bore on the face of it the stamp of utter fiction, it is what professes to be the early history of Glastonbury. It is going too far when the tale brings in such an amazing gathering of saints from all times and places to shed their lustre on a single spot. Setting aside the Apostles and Joseph of Arimathæa and King Lucius, the object is too apparent by which Patrick and David and Columb and Bridget and a crowd of others are all carried into the isle of Avalon. It is too much in the style of the process which invented a translation of Dunstan's body from Canterbury to Glastonbury, which I think that Dr. Stubbs will back me in setting down as pure fiction.³ It is too much in the style of that amazing Joseph-worship which sprang up in the fifteenth century, while in the earlier legend Saint Joseph holds a very modest place among the other worthies of the spot. This legendary history will be found in two works of the same writer, in the first book of William of Malmesbury's *History of the Kings* and in his special treatise on the *Antiquity of the church of Glastonbury*. The main story is much the same in the two, but there is a good

(1). *Chron.* 643.

(2). *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, Salisbury Volume*, pp. 58, 59. *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society for 1874*, p. 38.

(3). *Stubbs, Dunstan*, lxvi.

deal of difference in the way of telling it, and also in many of the details. The History of the Kings was written apart from any special Glastonbury influences, and it gives the legend in a comparatively moderate shape. The tale contains plenty that is purely fictitious; but fiction is as it were kept in some degree of order by being imbedded in a work of which the main substance is historical. But the treatise on the Antiquity of the church of Glastonbury is a work of another kind. It is, beyond all doubt, a case of history written to order, with a well defined object. But that object was not the simple setting forth of the genuine truth. The writer's business was to put in a clear and attractive shape such stories as the Glastonbury monks of his day told him. Wonderful things, to be sure, they did tell him; but I want you specially to remark that they did not tell him the same things which they would have told him a very few years later. The object of the stories which they told him was to exalt the glory and the antiquity of Glastonbury; it was not to exalt the glory of Arthur, or in any way to connect Glastonbury and Arthur together. A few years after William of Malmesbury wrote, the wonderful tale of his younger contemporary Geoffrey of Monmouth had come into vogue. But, when William of Malmesbury wrote, the tale of Geoffrey had not yet come into vogue, if it had been written or thought of at all. As we see from several passages in the History of the Kings, the fame of Arthur was great and growing; but it had not yet reached its full height. When it did reach its full height in the hands of Geoffrey, we see its effect at Glastonbury. Not long after the complete legend of Arthur had been invented, the tomb of Arthur was fittingly invented also.¹ The version of the early history of the place which William of Malmesbury had written when the object was to exalt the glory of Glastonbury, but not specially to connect it with Arthur, no longer suited those who had an

(1). See the account of the invention of 1191, in Roger of Wendover, 348; Ralph of Coggeshall, 36; Giraldus de Instructione Principum, ix. p. 192.

interest in the new form of the story. His original work, wonderful enough in itself, was further interpolated to suit the new local creed. The name of Arthur appears in the History of the Kings, in several passages which have no reference to Glastonbury, but in no passage which has a reference to Glastonbury. Least of all does William, in the History of the Kings, look on Glastonbury as the burial-place of Arthur, for he distinctly says that the burial-place of Arthur was unknown.¹ We must, then, I think, unhesitatingly cast away, as the interpolation of some Glastonbury monk, a passage in his Glastonbury History in which he is made to assert the burial of Arthur at Glastonbury. For this directly contradicts the deliberate statement of his graver work. But I shall not object, if any one chooses to claim as a genuine piece of William of Malmesbury a passage in which Arthur appears simply as one prince and one benefactor among others, where he is made to found certain monks in memory of the valiant Ider who overthrew the giants who infested Brent Knoll—then doubtless, like our other knolls great and small, an island, and which, it seems, was then known as the mount of frogs.² Such a story is very silly, very mythical, it sounds very much like an interpolation; but it is just possible that William of Malmesbury may have heard it at Glastonbury and written it down; for at least it does not contradict anything in the History of the Kings. We must carefully distinguish between two sets of legends, both of which are about equally untrustworthy, but which are put together with quite different purposes. It is the more needful to distinguish them, because the second set of tales comes so very closely upon the heels of the first. William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth were both alive, very likely they were both writing, at the same moment. But William, while he had his own stories of Arthur, knew nothing

(1). *Gesta Regum*, iii. 287.

(2). Gale, 307; Hearne, 47. "In montem ranarum, nunc dictum Brentecuol, ubi tres gigantes malefactis famosissimos esse didicerat."

of those more famous stories of Arthur which Geoffrey presently gave to the world.

I look then on the Glastonbury History of William of Malmesbury, even as he wrote it, as essentially legendary; but I do not at all deny that these legends, like other legends, may very likely, contain here and there some kernel of truth. But, if we are in search, not of mere kernels of truth, but of direct statements of fact, we may safely cast aside everything earlier than the first year of the seventh century. We may see our first bit of anything savouring of real history in the grant of the Damnonian King whose name so puzzled William of Malmesbury, but which Dr. Guest, with the greatest likelihood, supplies as *Gwrgan Varvtrwch*.¹ Dr. Guest holds that Glastonbury did not become the head sanctuary of the Britons till after the loss of Ambresbury. It is hard to rule such a point; but do not let any one think that, if this date of 601 should be accepted as marking the beginning of the greatness of Glastonbury, it therefore necessarily marks the beginning of the existence of Glastonbury, even as the place of a religious foundation, much less as a place of human dwelling. We may be sure that such a site as Glastonbury, a site which had so many attractions in early times, was inhabited from a very early time indeed, though ages may have passed before its name found a place in history or legend. I might not have thought it needful to give this warning, had I not seen some pains taken to prove that the site of Taunton was inhabited before Ine. It certainly never came into my head that the fact that *Æthelburh* was the first to found a town and fortress there² could be taken as meaning that no human being had ever lived there before. I certainly did not rate the common sense of the Britons so low as to think that, if they had a chance of occupying Taunton Dene, they would not gladly take advantage of it. In the like sort, I was once greatly

(1). *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 129.

(2). See the *Chronicles*, 722.

taken to task for speaking of the first appearance of Bristol in history in the eleventh century, as if I had meant to fix that time as the date of the foundation of Bristol. Now that first historical mention of Bristol set it before us as being already an important haven, and it did not come into my head that it could be needful to explain that a place does not become an important haven all in a moment. But, to avoid any more such misunderstandings, let me explain that the first time when a place is mentioned in history—unless its first settlement is the thing which is mentioned about it—is no more likely to be the time of its first settlement than the time when a man is first mentioned in history is likely to be the time of his birth. And yet I am not sure that there may not be some need to guard against this last error. We do in a manner often practically think that a man was born at the moment when we first hear of him. We forget that he must commonly have done many things, that he must have done those things which did most to form his character, before he did the things which won him a place in history. Who connects the name of Archbishop Laud with the reign of Elizabeth? Yet he passed thirty years of his life under her reign, and those thirty years must have been mainly the time which made him what he was. So if I fix 601 as the likely date for the beginning of a great monastery on this spot, let me repeat that no one need take me as fixing that year as the date of the coming of the first human being, of the coming of the first Christian man, or even as the coming of the first monk. I only say, that this entry of 601 is the first which has any likeness of historical truth. And indeed this first entry, if we can at all trust its words, points, not to the setting up of anything absolutely new, but to the enlarging and enriching of something which was there already. The king—Gwrgan, we will say—is made to give Ynysvitrin to the old church.¹ Now the “old church” may

(1). The words are “*Terram, quæ appellatur Yneswitrin, ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret abbatis, in quinque cassatis.*”

simply mean old in the time of William of Malmesbury, not old in the time of Gwrgan. But the grant of Ynysvitrin, that is, of Glastonbury itself, strikes me as having a special force. Gwrgan may have found a church, he may have found a monastery, already in the island. But it is he who is represented as giving the monastery its great temporal position; it is he who first makes the island itself a monastic island. Now this kind of statement has at least a negative force. It fixes our date one way. The document may be forged; the grant may be imaginary; the position bestowed by the grant may not have begun till much later. But we may be quite sure that it did not begin earlier. I am inclined to attribute to the document a higher value than this. Let it even be a forgery: I do not believe that anybody would go forging charters of Gwrgan—they might have forged charters of Arthur—unless he had seen or heard of a real charter of Gwrgan. And a forger would most likely have written the name of his king clearly enough for William of Malmesbury to read it. I am therefore disposed to attach some positive importance to the entry of 601. But in any case it has a negative importance; it gets rid of all earlier claims of the monastic house of Ynysvitrin to have held the temporal possession of the soil of Ynysvitrin.

There is another quite independent legend which seems to me to fall in with a belief in the earlier existence of Ynysvitrin, but which sets Ynysvitrin before us in a state quite unlike that of the seat of a great monastic body. This is the story contained in the *Life of Saint Gildas*.¹ The date and author of the piece are uncertain; but, as Mr. Stevenson remarks with great force, it must be older than the great days of the fame of Arthur; that is, it must be older than Geoffrey of Monmouth. It gives us a familiar part of the Arthurian story in a much earlier and simpler shape than that in which we are used to see it. In this story, Arthur is not conqueror of the

(1). P. xxxix, ed. Stevenson.

world; he is not even King of all Britain; he is simply "tyrant" in Cornwall and Devonshire. His overlord is Meluas, who is king in the "æstiva regio," that is surely in Somerset. We must of course take the word "tyrant," neither in its old Greek sense nor in its common modern sense; it must be taken in that later Latin sense in which it means a rebel prince, one who has set himself up against a lawful emperor or king. And so, directly after the place where he is called tyrant, Arthur is yet more distinctly called "rex rebellis." But the lawful king has done the tyrant a great private wrong by carrying off his wife Guenever. He has carried her off to Ynysvitrin, to keep her safe in the inaccessible island, where he is presently besieged by the tyrant Arthur with a countless host of the men of Cornwall and Devonshire. At this moment Gildas comes to the island, an exile, driven by the pirates of Orkney—wikings put a little out of their place—from his hermitage on the Steep Holm, where for seven years he had lived on fish and birds' eggs. He wrote, as we know, a "*Liber Querulus*;" one might expect that, if it was during this time of his life that he wrote it, it would be a "*Liber Querulus*." He now sails up to Ynysvitrin; he is there received by the abbot; he reconciles the two kings by persuading Meluas to give up Guenever; they become sworn brothers, and promise for the future to obey the abbot.

Now I hold this Life to be purely legendary, if for no other cause, yet for this, that it represents Gildas as having a great deal to do with Arthur. Gildas himself, while speaking of so many other British princes, has not, in his extant writings, one word to say about Arthur. The tyrant of Cornwall, even if he won the fight of Badbury, was clearly, in the eyes of Gildas, a much smaller person than Maelgwyn of Gwynedd, the great dragon of the isle of Dywyganwy. Giraldus indeed gives a good reason for this silence. He explains how Gildas actually wrote a book of the acts of Arthur; but, having a private

quarrel with the King, he threw his book into the sea. I venture to look on this as simply an attempt to account for the silence of Gildas about Arthur,¹ and I look on any story which brings Gildas and Arthur together as legendary on the face of it. But this legend, like many other legends, preserves unconsciously a kernel of truth. I must not hide the fact that there is another passage in the *Life* which speaks of Arthur as "*rex totius majoris Britanniae*."² But this only makes the other passage more precious. The two descriptions come from different sources. The writer, clearly writing in days when the fame of Arthur was growing but had not yet reached its full height, preserved, without marking the inconsistency, an older story which painted Arthur in a much lowlier guise. The tyrant Arthur, in rebellion against the king of the "*æstiva regio*," is something which neither the biographer of Gildas nor any one else would have invented; it must be a bit of genuine tradition. And that tradition represents Glastonbury as a place to which a king who carried off the wife of one of his under-kings was likely to carry her. This is not the picture of Glastonbury to which we are used. If any later king, any of our West-Saxon kings, had designed such a crime as that of Meluas, he would not have chosen Glastonbury for the scene of it. The wildest scandal-monger did not make Eadgar take Wulfthryth or Ælfthryth to the old home of Dunstan. The story indeed brings in an abbot; but the abbot is most likely brought in simply because men could not conceive Glastonbury in any age without an abbot. The value of a tale of this kind always lies in those parts which are most likely to have happened, because they are least likely to have been invented. I am very far from pledging myself to the historical truth of the statement that Meluas carried off Guenever wife of the tyrant Arthur, and hid her in the isle of Avalon. But I do say that that statement belongs to a

(1). *Descriptio Kambriæ*, ii. 2; vol. vi. p. 209, ed. Dimock.

(2). *P.* xxxiv.

stage of Arthurian legend much earlier than any of those to which we are used. I do believe that, whether it does or does not preserve a memory of real facts, it does preserve a memory of a real state of things. It helps us to a picture of the isle of Avalon very different either from the Glastonbury of Eadgar or from the Ynysvitrin of Gwrgan.

We get another incidental notice of early Glastonbury in a better quarter than the *Life of Gildas*. This is in the *Life of Dunstan* by a Saxon from the old Saxony, edited by Dr. Stubbs. We here find that, in the days of Dunstan's youth, Irish pilgrims, learned men from whose books Dunstan himself learned much, were in the habit of coming to Glastonbury to worship at the tomb of one of their own worthies, either the elder or the younger Patrick.¹ It follows therefore that it was believed in Ireland that Glastonbury was the resting-place of an ancient Irish saint. Now such a belief as this could not have taken root, if the connexion between Glastonbury and the elder Celtic Church had been the invention of West-Saxon monks at any time between Cenwealh and Dunstan. Surely nothing but an independent Irish tradition could have led Irish pilgrims across the sea. This tradition clearly sets Glastonbury before us as being already a holy place even before Gwrgan. But it is quite consistent with the belief that it was Gwrgan who raised Ynysvitrin to be, according to the British formula, one of the three great choirs of the isle of Britain.²

I am thus, on the whole, strongly inclined to believe, on the one hand, that it was a true tradition, something in fact more than tradition, which connected Glastonbury, as an ecclesiastical foundation, with days before the English invasion, but to believe also, on the other hand, that, at the time of the English invasion, it was not a foundation of any great antiquity. I am inclined to believe, though I would not take upon myself

(1.) Stubbs, *Dunstan*, p. 10.

(2.) See Guest, *Salisbury Volume*, u.s.

at all positively to assert, that, perhaps not the existence, but anyhow the greatness, of Glastonbury as a religious foundation, dates from Gwrgan at the beginning of the seventh century. I am inclined to think that it was then that Ynysvitrin took its place as the great sanctuary of the Britons, to supply the loss of fallen Ambresbury. As a great monastic house then it would have been little more than fifty years old when it passed into West-Saxon hands. It would be, as I said, actually younger in years than Christ Church at Canterbury. But what is younger in years may often belong to an older state of things. I have constantly to insist on this fact in the history of buildings. I have to try to make people understand that the fact that some buildings of the Old-English type are later in date than some buildings of the Norman type is the strongest of all proofs that there was an Old-English style earlier than the Norman style. There are few buildings more deeply interesting than the work of Prætextatus beneath the Roman Capitol, a pagan temple younger than the oldest Christian churches on the Lateran and the Vatican. And may I class with this last my own neighbour church of Wookey, with its chapel built and fitted up for the worship of the days of Philip and Mary, younger therefore than the Cornish church of Probus, built and fitted up for the worship of the days of Edward the Sixth? In the like sort, if, in a reckoning of years, we set down Glastonbury at the beginning of the seventh century as younger than Canterbury at the end of the sixth, yet in historical order, Glastonbury still remains older than Canterbury. If we should accept Gwrgan, not only as the benefactor and enlarger, but as the very beginner, of the house of Ynysvitrin, there still will be no need to unsay a single word of what I said earlier in this discourse. The sentiment of antiquity would doubtless be more fully gratified if we could give the house of Ynysvitrin a British existence of five hundred years than if we give it a British existence of only fifty. But the unique historic position of the place is the

same in either case. In either case Glastonbury is the one great church of the Briton which passed unhurt into the hands of the Englishman. In either case it is, in a way that no other great church is, a tie between the state of things represented by the names of Arthur and Gildas and the state of things represented by the names of Eadgar and Dunstan. In either case we may truly say, as I have often said, that that talk about the ancient British Church, which is simply childish nonsense when it is talked at Canterbury or York or London ceases to be childish nonsense when it is talked at Glastonbury. Nay, as tending to draw the tie still tighter, we can almost forgive the invention of the tomb of British Arthur to match the real tombs of our West-Saxon Eadgar and our two mighty Eadmunds. We can almost forgive the baser fraud which changed the western church, the true church of the Briton, into the freshly devised chapel of Saint Joseph, and which must have gone far to bring down that lovely building by so daringly scooping out a crypt beneath it.¹ And I am not sure that, by accepting the later date, we do not really open a new source of historic interest. There would surely be something striking in the picture of the British king and his people, driven from their elder sanctuary by the advancing tide of English conquest, still keeping up their hearts, still cleaving to their faith, raising or renewing for themselves another holy place in the venerated island, in the very teeth of triumphant heathendom entrenched upon the hills which bounded their landscape. Let us, by the help of the other branch of our studies, call up before us the general look of the "*æstiva regio*," in the days when Avalon and all its fellows were truly islands in the deep fen. The mount that crowns the holy isle itself looked down, through long months at least, on a waste of waters, relieved here and there by smaller spots of land where alone man could dwell and till and worship. In those days the dwelling-places of man, still almost wholly confined to the

(1). Willis, *Glastonbury*, chaps. v. vi.

ridges and the bases of the isolated hills, must have occupied very much the same extent which they do still; the change lies in the state of the flats—what we call the moors—between them. Avalon, larger and loftier than its fellow islands, was a shelter admirably suited either for devout monks or for runaway queens. By Gwrgan's day it had become one of the last shelters, at once centre and outpost, of a race and a creed which must have seemed to be shrinking up step by step, till both should pass away from the soil of Britain. That race has not passed away; that faith has won back the lands which it had lost; we are tempted to ask whether Gwrgan, in the summer land, when he bade Ynysvitrin to take the place of Ambresbury, had heard that one realm of the heathen invaders had become the spiritual conquest of teachers from beyond the sea, and that new temples were at the same moment rising for the same faith at the bidding of British and of English rulers. But the Christian Jute was far away; the heathen Saxon was close at his gates. The high ground to the north and to the east, the long range of Mendip, the hills of the Wiltshire border, stood like a mighty castle-wall fencing in the strongholds of Woden and Thunder. At any moment the great march of Ceawlin might be renewed towards new points; the summer land and the long peninsula beyond it might be as land by the Severn and the two Avons; the holy place of Avalon in its island, the strong city of Isca on its hill, might be as Glevum and Aquæ Solis, as Corinium and Uriconium. It was not then as when men hear of their enemies in distant lands or on some distant frontier of their own land. It was as when the Corinthian, jealous of the growth and power of Athens, had but to climb the steep of his own citadel to see with his own eyes the mighty works which were rising on the lowlier height of the rival akropolis. And, from our side too, what was it that kept our fathers from swooping down on the prey which lay before their eyes? Why did they pause for nearly eighty years before they came down from their hill

fortress to make a lasting spoil of the rich plains and islands at their feet? Could it be some dim feeling that Woden and Thunder were gods of the hills, but were not gods of the valleys? Whatever was the cause, the work was not to be done by men who bowed to Woden and Thunder. Gwrgan could build and endow his church in safety, while the gorges of Cheddar and Ebber, while Crook's Peak and Shutshelf and Rookham, were strongholds of heathen men. The Saxon was at last to pour down from his height, to smite the Briton by the Pens and to chase him to the banks of Parret. But the blow was not to come till it was lightened by coming from the hands of men who were brethren in the same faith. The Saxon was to win Avalon; he was to win Isca; but he was not to deal by them as he had dealt by Uriconium and Corinium. Through the long years of watching between the march of Ceawlin and the march of Cenwealh, the Tor of Avalon, the island mount of Saint Michael, not perhaps as yet hallowed by the archangel's name, but standing as the guardian of the holy places, new and old, which gathered at its foot, might look forth day by day towards the threatening rampart, with somewhat of the old note of Hebrew defiance—"Why hop ye so, ye high hills? This is God's hill, in the which it pleaseth Him to dwell, yea the Lord will abide in it for ever."

The day at last came, the day when one race was to give way to another, but when the transfer of dominion from race to race no longer carried with it its transfer from creed to creed. The founder of Winchester became at once the conqueror and the protector of Ynysvitrin. With the change of race came a change of name, and British Ynysvitrin passed into English Glastonbury. And here I must say a few words on the very puzzling question as to those two names and the other names which this place is said to have borne. I have in this discourse freely used the names Ynysvitrin and Avalon, while speaking of this place in its British stage. I have done so because I needed some name to speak of the place by in its

British stage, and so to bring out more clearly the fact that the place had a British stage. It would not have done to speak of Glastonbury before it became Glastonbury; it would have been falling into the error of those who talk of Cæsar landing in England. But if any one chooses to arraign those particular names of Avalon and Ynysvitrin as lacking in authority, I shall not be over careful to answer him in that matter. I believe that there is no authority for either name earlier than the treatise of William of Malmesbury and the Life of Gildas. And I have already told you what kind of work the treatise of William of Malmesbury is, that it is a work written to order in the interests of Glastonbury, and which has further been largely interpolated. There is something very odd in an English gentile name suddenly displacing the British name; there is something suspicious in the evident attempts to make the English and British names translate one another, in the transparent striving to see an element of *glass* in both. *Glæstingaburh*, it must be borne in mind, is as distinctly an English gentile name as any in the whole range of English nomenclature; *Glastonbury* is a mere corruption; as if to make things straight, the syllable which has taken a place to which it has no right in Huntingdon and Abingdon, has in Glastonbury been driven out of a place to which it has the most perfect right. The true origin of the name lurks, in a grotesque shape, in that legend of *Glæsting* and his sow, a manifestly English legend, which either William of Malmesbury himself or some interpolator at Glastonbury has strangely thrust into the midst of the British legends. *Glæsting's* lost sow leads him by a long journey to an apple-tree by the old church; pleased with the land, he takes his family, the *Glæstingas*, to dwell there.¹ This might almost be taken as a kind of parable of the West-Saxon settlement under Cenwealh. There is no mention of earlier inhabitants; but the mention of the church implies that there were or had been such; in any case the

(1). Gale, 295; Hearne, 16, 17.

Glæstingas settle by the old church—the main work of the middle of the seventh century, as far as Glastonbury is concerned. But there is certainly something strange in the sudden way in which we find the *Glæstingas* so comfortably settled in their own *burh* within the isle which has so lately been British Avalon. The old-world gentile name seems in a manner out of place in a conquest so recent and so illustrious. Gentile names, though hardly to be called characteristic of Somerset, are not uncommonly found there, even in districts which we hold to have been won yet more lately than when Cenwealh drove the Britons to the Parret. Such are Canington, Barrington, Doddington, Pointington, and that which has the most ancient and legendary sound of all, Horsington. But these are names of small settlements, answering to the names of the Danish settlements in Lincolnshire at a later time and the names of the Flemish settlements in Pembroke-shire at a later time still.¹ There is something unusual in a place of the nature of Glastonbury altogether changing its name, above all in its taking the gentile name of a certainly not famous *gens*. Other chief places which passed in the same manner from British to English rule, if they changed their names at all, did not change them after this sort. Isca, for instance, to take the greatest case of all, lived on under its old name as English Exeter. Taunton under Æthelburh took a new name, an English name; but it did not take the name of an English *gens*. The nearest parallels—and those are not very near ones—are to be found in such changes as those made by the Danes when they turned Northweorthig and Streoneshalh into Derby (Deoraby) and Whitby, or in such later changes still as when Count Robert of Mortain changed Leodgareshurh into Montacute.² But we have the fact which we cannot get over, that Glastonbury was already spoken of as an old name at the end of the seventh century or

(1). See Norman Conquest, i. 572, ed. iii.

(2). See Norman Conquest, iv. 170; v. 573.

the beginning of the eighth.¹ And on the other hand, unless we throw aside the whole history of West-Saxon advance, as we have learned it from Dr. Guest, and as, to me at least, it seems to be clearly written in the pages of the Chronicle, we cannot carry our *Glæstingas* to *Glæstingaburh* at any time earlier than the time of Cenwealh.

As for the British names themselves, the two names of Avalon and Ynysvitrin stand to some extent on different grounds; they may be attacked and defended by different arguments, both as regards the names themselves and as regards the authorities on which they rest. There certainly is a degree of suspicion about the name Ynysvitrin and its alleged meaning of *insula vitrea*. It is really tempting to look upon it as simply a name made up as a kind of translation of the supposed meaning of *Glastonbury*. But it is just as likely that it is a real British name, having no more to do with glass than Glastonbury has, but on which that meaning was put by the same kind of etymological pun of which we have many examples, and of which the turning of Jerusalem into *Hierosolyma* is a familiar case. It may be that Avalon is a name transferred hither with a purpose after that name had become famous in the legends of Arthur. But it is just as likely that, as there undoubtedly were Avalons in other Celtic lands, so there may have been an Avalon here also. The spot on which we are met may stand to the Avalon of legend in the same relation in which the Olympos of geography stands to the Olympos of legend. As for the external authority for the names, it is much stronger in the case of Ynysvitrin than in the case of Avalon. Yet even on behalf of Avalon I think it may be possible to find a small piece of negative evidence. The most tempting time for the invention of the name of Ynysvitrin, for the application of the name of Avalon to Glastonbury, would be when the fame of Arthur had become

(1). Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, 439. "Regnante Ine Westsaxonum rege . . . Boerwald, qui divina cœnobium gubernatione quod antiquorum nuncupatur vocabulo Glæstingaburg regebat."

great, when legend said that Arthur was in Avalon, and when it was deemed convenient that his tomb should be found at Glastonbury. But the name Ynysvitrin at least is certainly older than this. And I think that I see some reason for believing that the application of the name of Avalon to Glastonbury is also older than this. The name Ynysvitrin is not only found in a passage of William of Malmesbury's *Glastonbury History* which has no relation to Arthur;¹ it is also found in the perfectly unsuspecting *History of the Kings*, where he not only does not connect Arthur with Glastonbury, but expressly says that the burial-place of Arthur was unknown.² It is also found in a note at the end of the *Life of Gildas*,³ of which I do not profess to fix the date, but which at least has nothing to do with Arthur or his burial at Glastonbury. If then the name of Ynysvitrin was a mere etymological device of some Glastonbury monk, it was at least a device older than the time when there was most temptation to devise it. It is surely therefore just as likely that it was a real British name which had been handed on. The evidence for Avalon is less clear; it is not found in the *History of the Kings*; it is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth as the name of the burial-place of Arthur.⁴ It is found in two places of the *Glastonbury History* as we have it, one of which distinctly makes Glastonbury, under the name of Avalon, the burial-place of Arthur.⁵ This passage

(1). Gale, p. 295; Hearne, 17.

(2.) *Gesta Regum*, i. 28. He is speaking, not of Arthur but of the charter which, on Dr. Guest's authority, I assign to Gwrgan.

(3.) P. xli, ed. Stevenson. In the *Life* itself, where the siege of the island by Arthur is described, the British name seems to be implied without actually using it (p. xxxix); "*Glastonia, id est Urbs Vitrea (quæ nomen sumsit a vitro), est urbs nomine primitus in Britannico sermone.*"

(4.) Lib. vii ad finem. "*Inclytus ille Arththrus rex letaliter vulneratus est, qui illinc ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avallonis advectus.*"

(5.) This is the passage in Hearne, pp. 42, 43, which is strangely mutilated in Gale, 306. It stands thus in full; "*Prætermitto de Arturo, inclito rege Britonum, in cimiterio monachorum inter duas pyramides cum sua conjuge tumulato, de multis eciam Britonum principibus. Idem Arturus, anno incarnationis Dominicæ dxxlii. in Cornubia, juxta fluvium Cambam, à Modredo letaliter vulneratus est, qui inde, ad sananda vulnera sua, in insulam Avallonis est evectus et ibidem defunctus in ætate circa Pentecosten, fere centenarius aut circiter.*" We of course find both names in Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instructione Principum*, p. 193; the Arthur legend was then in all its glory.

must be an interpolation. William of Malmesbury could surely never have written words which so grossly contradict his own statement in the *History of the Kings*, and the words moreover seem directly borrowed from Geoffrey. In the other place the name is in no way connected with Arthur; it is mentioned in a very strange connexion with Glasting and his sow.¹ I do not greatly care whether this come from William of Malmesbury or from an interpolator. For surely no interpolator writing after the invention of Arthur would have brought in the name of Avalon in so lowly a connexion. This strikes me as going a long way to show that Avalon was known as a name of Glastonbury before the legends of Arthur had taken possession of the name. But I have no wish to insist positively on a matter which is certainly difficult and doubtful. On one point I think we shall all agree; if Glastonbury really be Avalon, we must cast aside the belief that no rain falls in Avalon as a poet's dream.

One thing however may certainly be brought forward as standing in my way, in Dr. Guest's way, in the way of every one who holds that there was in the island something of an ecclesiastical kind before the English conquest. This is the direct assertion of William of Malmesbury in his *History of the Bishops* that Ine was the first to build a monastery at Glastonbury.² But in any case this assertion stands in nobody's way so directly as in the way of William of Malmesbury himself, who tells such a different tale, not only in his local work, not only in the *History of the Kings*, but even in a later passage of the *History of the Bishops*.³ I conceive that

(1). Gale, p. 295; Hearne, 17. The clearly English hogherd is unexpectedly made to talk Welsh. Finding his sow under the apple-tree, "*Quia primum adveniens poma in partibus illis rarissima repperit, insulam Avalloniæ sua lingua, id est, insulam pomorum, nominavit. Avalla enim Britonice poma interpretatur Latine.*" I doubt whether this is good Welsh; but at any rate the lack of apples has passed away. There is no need to search into an alternative derivation from a certain Avalloc and his daughters.

(2). Gest. Pont. p. 196. "*Ibi primus rex Ina consilio beatissimi Aldelmi monasterium ædificavit, multa illuc prædia, quæ hodieque nominantur, largitus.*"

(3). Ib. 354. "*Ejus [Aldelmi] monitu Glastoniense monasterium, ut dixi in Gestis Regum, a novo fecit.*"

in writing the earlier passage, doubtless before he wrote his Glastonbury History or had paid any special attention to Glastonbury matters, he was misled by the words of the Chronicle, which says that Ine *timbered* a minster at Glastonbury, but which do not say that he was the first to *timber* one there.¹ And any notion that Ine was the first founder is set aside by the passage of Willibald to which I have already referred, which speaks, in Ine's own day, not only of an abbot of Glastonbury, but of Glastonbury as an ancient name for the abbey. "Antiquum" may perhaps cover as little space as is covered by the French "ancien"; but it could hardly be applied to a foundation of Ine's own.

The architectural details of the buildings I leave to others. But I must nevertheless say a word or two on one general aspect of those buildings which more directly connects their peculiar character with the peculiar history of the place. There is a special character about the church—to be perfectly accurate, I should say the churches—of Glastonbury, because there is a special character about the history of Glastonbury. I conceive that there was a time when Ynysvitrin had, like Glendalough or Clonmacnois, a group of small churches, the Celtic fashion of building where Roman usage would have dictated the building of one large church. One of these, the oldest and most venerated, the old church, the wooden church, "vetusta ecclesia" "lignea basilica," lived on, and by living on, stamped the buildings of Glastonbury with their special character. It lived on, to be the scene of the devotion and the bounty of Cnut,² and to give way only to the loveliest building

(1). "And he [Ine] getimbrade þæt meoster æt Glæstingabyrig." This is in the Winchester Chronicle, 688, but it is described as an insertion from another manuscript. The entry is followed by Florence. It is curious to find in the fuller and less trustworthy form of the Brut y Tywysogion (that published by the Cambrian Archæological Association), in which the acts of Ine are strangely transferred to the British Ivor, the building of Glastonbury is transferred also. Ivor (pp. 4, 5) defeats the Saxons, wins "Cornwall, the *Summer country* (Gevlad yr Haf), and Devonshire," and then "erects the great monastery in Ynys Avallen (y Brodyr y mawr yn ynys y Fallen) in thanksgiving to God for His assistance against the Saxons."

(2). See Norman Conquest, i. p. 439.

that Glastonbury can show, the jewel of late Romanesque on a small scale, the western church, known since the fifteenth century by the forged name of Saint Joseph's chapel. That church represents the wooden basilica; we may say that it is the wooden basilica, rebuilt in another material. But to the east of the ancient wooden church there arose in English times a church of English fashion, a church of stone, built and rebuilt successively by Ine, by Dunstan, by Norman Herlwin, and by the builders of the mighty pile which still stands in ruins. The wooden basilica and the church of Dunstan have both perished; not a stick is left of one, not a stone of the other. But both are there still in a figure. Each has its abiding representative. The great eastern church stands for the stone church of English Dunstan; the lesser western church stands for the wooden church of British Gwrgan, or more likely of some one long before his days. Had the two vanished churches not stood there, in the relation in which they did stand to one another, the minster of Glastonbury could never have put on a shape so unlike that of any other minster in England. Nowhere else do we find, as we find here, two churches—two monastic churches—thrown together indeed in after times into one continuous building without, but always keeping up the character of two wholly distinct interiors. For nowhere but at Glastonbury was there the historical state of things out of which such an architectural arrangement could grow. Nowhere else did the church of the Briton live on untouched and revered by the side of the church of the Englishman.

Through the long history of Glastonbury I cannot lead you to-day. My special subject has been those early fortunes of the place which have given it a character wholly unique among the minsters of England. I would fain say somewhat of the stern rule of Thurstan, when the monks were shot down before the altar, because they chose still to sing their psalms after the ancient use of Glastonbury and not after a new use of Fécamp. I would fain say somewhat of the lights thrown

upon the state of Glastonbury and all Somerset by the Glastonbury entries in Domesday. I would fain say somewhat of the long struggle with the Bishops which makes up so great a part of the local history both of Glastonbury and of Wells. I would fain say somewhat of the last scene of all, of the heroic end which winds up the tale which, at Glastonbury as in other monastic houses, had for some centuries become undoubtedly unheroic. The martyrdom of Richard Whiting, following on the ordinary story of an English abbey after abbeys had lost their first love, reads like the fall of the last Constantine winding up the weary annals of the house of Palaiologos. But of one group of names, of one name pre-eminently among them, I must speak. We cannot meet at Glastonbury without in some shape doing our homage to the greatest ruler of the church of Glastonbury, the greatest man born and reared on Glastonbury soil. Earliest among the undoubted worthies of Somerset, surpassed by none who have come after him in his fame and in his deeds, we see, on this spot, rising above the mists of error and of slander, the great churchman, the great statesman, of the tenth century, the mighty form of Dunstan. Not a few famous men in our history have been deeply wronged by coming to be known only as the subjects of silly legends or, worse still, of perverted and calumnious history. So have Leofric and Godgifu suffered; so has Ælfred himself suffered; but Dunstan has suffered more than all. Justice was once done to him years ago by a great scholar among ourselves;¹ fuller justice still has since been done to him by the greatest of all our scholars.² Yet I doubt not that to many minds his name still calls up no thoughts but that of one of the silliest of silly legends; or, worse still, it calls up the picture, most unlike the original, of a grovelling and merciless

(1). See the paper by Mr. J. R. Green on "Dunstan at Glastonbury" in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society for 1862, p. 122.

(2). See Dr. Stubbs's Preface to his Memorials of St. Dunstan, throughout.

fanatic. Think, I would ask you, under the guidance of true history, more worthily of the greatest son, the greatest ruler, that Glastonbury ever saw. Think more worthily of one who was indeed the strict churchman, the monastic reformer, who called up again the religious life at Glastonbury after a season of decay—but who stands charged in no authentic record as guilty of any act of cruelty or persecution, but who does stand forth in authentic records as the great minister of successive West-Saxon kings, of successive Lords of all Britain, in days when Wessex was the hearth and centre of English rule, and when Glastonbury stood first among English sanctuaries, the chosen burial-place of kings. Let us think of him as the friend of Eadmund, the counsellor of Eadred, the victim of Eadwig, the friend and guide of Eadgar the Giver-of-peace. So mightily under him grew the fame of Glastonbury that a greater name than all was drawn within its spell, and men at the other end of England deemed that it was at Glastonbury, and not at Athelney, that Ælfred himself held his last shelter, when the bounds of Wessex, the bounds of England, reached not beyond the coasts of a single island of the Sumorsætan.¹ But in those centuries of West-Saxon greatness, the local history of this spot can dispense with any single word or touch that the strictest criticism would reject. In later times the church of Westminster supplanted the church of Glastonbury as the place of royal burials. Yet we may ask, even by the tomb of the great Edward, if Westminster ever showed a group surpassing that kingly company which lay behind and around the altar of Glastonbury. There, in his own special chapel, lay the king to whose name, alone of all our kings, peace, and that the peace which ever stood prepared for war, has attached itself as an undying surname. By the real resting-place of English Eadgar we may endure the invention of the legendary Briton

(1). See the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*, X Scriptt. 71, vol. i. p. 144 of the Surtees edition of Symeon. Ælfred “tribus annis in Glestingiensi palude latuit, in magna penuria.” See *Old-English History*, p. 127.

and his queen. And on either side of the Giver-of-peace once lay his father and his grandson, each alike terrible in war, but whose swords were wielded only for the defence of England and of Christendom. There lay the elder Eadmund, of whom our gleemen sang how he set free English cities from heathen chains. Here lay his younger namesake in the tomb at which his rival and sworn brother came to worship, the unwearied warrior of the long year of battles, of whom again our gleemen could tell that

Eadmund cing
Irensíd was geclypod
For his snellscepe.

And if the historical associations which are called up by the tombs which once were at Glastonbury do not in themselves yield to the historical associations of the tombs which still are at Westminster, Glastonbury has the advantage over Westminster that here there are no meaner objects to disturb and jar upon the mighty memories of the past. There are some incidental gains even in the havoc which has swept over the burial-place of Eadgar and the Eadmunds. In fallen Glastonbury there is at least no place for the abominations of modern Westminster. The idols of heathendom, rampant in the church of the Confessor, have never yet found a footing in the church of Dunstan. If at Glastonbury much has perished, what is left is kept with all care; the carved work of the sanctuary is not here cut away year by year to receive the hideous memorials of men, worthy or unworthy, whose real burial-place is elsewhere. The loveliness of what is left, the memory of what is gone, is not marred by such strange sights as that of the grave face of Sir George Cornwall Lewis peeping out between a naked Indian on one side and a woman suckling a baby on the other. Here at Glastonbury we can muse, and muse without let or hindrance, on the greatest memorials of the great age which made the English kingdom. Yet these memories are all of a kind which are shared, if in a less degree, by other

famous spots within the English realm, by Winchester and Sherborne and Westminster itself. What Glastonbury has to itself, alone and without rival, is its historical position as the tie, at once national and religious, which binds the history and memories of our own race to the history and memories of the race which we supplanted.

The BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS asked to be allowed, in the name of all present, to tender to the President their grateful thanks for the truly eloquent and learned address with which he had opened the proceedings at Glastonbury. It was impossible, in the case of an address, teeming with such a vast amount of varied knowledge, to single out one point more deserving than another of commendation; but they must thank Mr. Freeman for having stirred up in their minds so strong an interest in their local history, and for giving them such good help in reviving old memories attached to the district. He hoped they would all profit by the instruction they had received.

Mr. G. T. CLARK seconded the motion, and, after remarking that the names of Arthur and Avalon were very dear to Welshmen, said he was sure he was expressing the feelings of those beyond the Severn when he observed that Welshmen would feel great pleasure when they learned the line that Mr. Freeman, the eminent Teutonic historian, had taken on the present occasion.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and

The PRESIDENT briefly acknowledged the thanks that were accorded to him.

Mr. JAMES PARKER then gave an address upon the

Documentary Evidence relating to the Early History of Glastonbury.

He pointed out that there were two chief sources—the tractate of William of Malmesbury, and the *Secretum*. The tractate of Malmesbury, entitled “*De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ*,”

was evidently written to order, and was addressed to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who was appointed Abbot of Glastonbury in 1126, and it was probably completed before 1135, since William of Malmesbury in his later works refers to his having already written it, and he must have died about 1142. It was however very unfortunate that the earliest MS. which exists was transcribed some 60 or 70 years after the death of the author, and so much has been evidently interpolated that it is hard to say what is Malmesbury's own and what the later scribe's. We could however be sure of some portion being Malmesbury's, as the substance was transcribed into an early edition of his "*Gesta Regum*."

Mr. Parker referred to many of the stories and to their probable origin. The legend of S. Philip's disciples (amongst whom was Joseph of Arimathea) was supported, if not actually made to rest, on the two words in a general history written by Freulfus, a Bishop of Lisieux, in the ninth century, viz., "*Philippus Gallias*," whence Malmesbury inferred that as Philip came to Gaul so might he have come to Britain. But this word Gallias can be traced no further back than to Isidore of Spain, of the seventh century, while from Eusebius, who collected all that was known about the Apostle in the fourth century, it would appear that Philip never left Asia Minor. As to the doubtful names of Phaganus and Diruvianus, they only dated from the twelfth century, though the story with which they were connected, namely of Lucius sending messengers to Pope Eleutherius, was of earlier date. The clumsily forged charter of S. Patrick would not bear investigation, nor would the story of his visit to Glastonbury fit in with the other legends. The same with S. David of Wales. It was a question whether, when Malmesbury wrote, the thought of connecting the hero of the popular romance of the day with Glastonbury had suggested itself to the monks. The fanciful derivations of Glastonbury, Sugway, &c., were probably not Malmesbury's own, nor is there any reason to

suppose that the name Avalon had been applied to Glastonbury, or the name Inisvitrim manufactured, (giving the place an appearance of being British,) when his MS. was completed. Some of the stories had evidently been told to Malmesbury, and he had inserted them with more or less caution.

The other chief source for the documentary evidence was a chartulary, compiled by order of Abbot Monington, in which were transcribed all the charters and documents which the Abbey possessed relating in any way to their property. It was called the "Secretum," and was preserved in the Bodleian Library. Copies of some of the charters could be obtained from other sources, but this was the most complete and probably the most authentic transcript of them.

The earliest charters of which copies were preserved were three, appertaining to property granted during the reign of King Ine of Wessex, 688-728. These were severally discussed, and the lecturer thought that, allowing for certain errors in the transcription, and after discarding certain interpolations prompted by the zeal or piety of successive scribes, the substance might be accepted. A third document of King Ine, termed a Privilegium and dated A.D. 725, recited previous gifts, the earliest going back to the time of Abp. Theodore, 668-690, some of the grants being made under Kings Cenwalch and Centwin, as well as some under King Ine, and herein confirmed. Taking these four charters together and comparing them with other charters of a similar age, and taking into account the names both of persons and places, and several minute details, it was contended they bore the test very satisfactorily, and pointed to a religious community having settled here in Glastonbury towards the close of the seventh century, and some few years before King Ine came to the throne. Again, taking them in connection with subsequent charters (and there were some twenty or thirty in all to which he was able to refer, more or less perfect, and of dates anterior to the Conquest) there was a natural sequence, and it seemed that

Glastonbury must have had its origin in the period named. Incidentally too the history which these charters seemed to afford could be easily reconciled with some of the names recorded by Malmesbury, as having existed on the altars and tombs in his time; though he enveloped them in mystery, it would appear that it was rather out of desire to enhance their value and exaggerate their antiquity, to please those for whom he wrote his tractate: his evidence could not fairly be taken as proving that they actually belonged to a præ-Saxon age. Still Glastonbury must rank amongst the earliest of the religious establishments in England. Augustine only established his monastery at Canterbury at the beginning of the seventh century, and at the end of that century Glastonbury was of sufficient importance to have large possessions conferred on it by King Ine, and hence in the Chronicles it is Ine, and Ine alone, who has the credit of founding that minster.

The meeting then adjourned, and, after a short time had been allowed for luncheon, assembled in the grounds of

The Abbot's Kitchen.

Mr. JAMES PARKER pointed out that the Great Guest Hall, with other buildings, was recorded to have been commenced by Abbot Fromund, 1303-22, but was not completed till the time of John de Breynton, Abbot 1335-41. It would have been an odd thing to build a Guest-hall without there being a kitchen attached to it, and the structure before them must therefore have been begun as soon as any other part: Probably the foundations of all the new buildings were laid at the same time; and the kitchen no doubt formed an important part of the general plan, and by accident it has been the only part preserved. He could not point out the plan of these new buildings, and he believed there were not sufficient remains to judge of either their extent or of their arrangement. Those who called the building the Abbey Kitchen called it by a wrong name, as that would give the idea that the refectory of the monks was in this part of the precincts. It should be

called the Abbot's Kitchen, that is the kitchen belonging to the Great Hall where the Abbot entertained his guests. Looking at the building from an architectural point of view, supposing that he did not know anything of its history, he should say it was a good specimen of the 14th century style. There were two classes of windows in it; and they would see, if they examined the tracery, that the window on the west side was older than the others, although from the continued courses of the masonry it would appear that the two windows were put into the building at one and the same time. The window on the south side was rather late in character, and would be ascribed to a date not earlier than 1340; the window on the west side belonging rather to the character of the reign of Edward II. In the window on the south side they saw faint traces of the Perpendicular style creeping in, that is, the mullion appeared as if continued through the upper part of the window. At the first sight, therefore, he thought that that window must be an insertion, and that the walls belonged to an earlier date; but on a second inspection he was of opinion that it was in its original place and belonged to the structure, while that on the other side was an older window which had been worked up into the later structure, of the time of Fromund, when the new buildings were first planned and commenced. Whether or not it had been removed from another part of the buildings of course he could not say, but they must remember that sometimes windows were actually made before places were provided for them. It agreed very much with what would be the work of the early years of the 14th century.

A particular feature in the Kitchen was the upper part, commonly called the *Louvre*. This was a French word, and they had a corrupted form of it in *luffer*-boards, that is those boards used in windows of towers. The *louvre* was a very common feature in halls, as well as in kitchens of the Middle Ages. In kitchens they were very essential, because, the small chim-

neys not being lofty enough to carry off the smoke from the very large fires it was necessary to keep, an opening was made at the top to carry off the smoke and steam. If they looked inside they would see that the arrangement was very peculiar—he believed unique, at least he knew of no other place existing where they found three or four air-holes round the great central air-hole. The nearest like it he knew was at Durham, and though there were a great many minor differences, the general aspect was much the same. When complete the building of course had four chimneys, one at either corner, and if they wanted to see something which was probably like what this was originally they must go to Oxford, and they would see in the design of the detached chemical laboratory, on the south side of the New Museum, one evidently adapted from the kitchen at Glastonbury, but with four large chimneys still standing erect and giving a character to the building.

Another example of a fine medieval kitchen existed at Stanton Harcourt, some few miles from Oxford. There was much the same principle to be seen there as in Glastonbury, but it was carried out somewhat differently. There the whole of the upper part was of wood, and the arrangement was such that the whole of this topmost story was surrounded with luffer-boards, and some of the original boards were actually in existence. By pulling a cord all those in any one opening could be opened simultaneously, like a Venetian blind, and they were as easily closed; so, when needful, only those away from the wind could be opened, and the others closed, in order to carry off the smoke. It was a very ingenious arrangement, and sufficient was remaining to see exactly how it was managed. The date of the kitchen at Stanton Harcourt was however rather later than that of Glastonbury.

There was another example which he had seen many years back, which, from what he remembered, bore great resemblance to that at Glastonbury, though the structure was octagonal in

plan, and that was at Fontevrault, on the river Loire. At the time he visited it, it was described as the Chapter-house, and so they would find it described in most books of some 30 or 40 years ago. Possibly if the one they were now inspecting had been found in a different position as regards the Church, and had no chimneys or fireplaces in the corners, they might well have supposed it was a Chapter-house.

Since examples of medieval kitchens were so scarce, it was very fortunate that so fine a one as this had been preserved; though it was certainly singular, when so much had been destroyed, that of all the domestic parts of that once enormous Abbey, the kitchen should be the only part which survived. Although, as he had said, there seemed to be little doubt that the Prior's Hall and the Guest Hall were built about the same time as that kitchen near to them, he could not, he was sorry to say, attempt to explain the meaning of the few ruins adjoining the kitchen, or point out exactly where the Guest Hall stood in relation to the kitchen—much less the Abbot's Parlour. He was afraid, too, that even by digging not much light would be thrown on the matter; because when, after the Dissolution, the Abbey buildings were sold, those who took off the roof for the sake of the lead, dug up the foundations for the sake of the stone.

The Rev. J. T. FOWLER, of Durham, said that we ought to keep in view the distinction between the Abbey kitchen and the Abbot's kitchen. Great monasteries often had, he believed, three separate kitchens; the Abbey Kitchen proper, close to the refectory, which commonly formed the side of the quadrangle furthest from the church, and had the kitchen just outside it. In Cistercian houses, however, the refectory was built north and south, and had the kitchen adjoining on one side, both opening out of the cloister court. Then the Abbot had often a great kitchen of his own, to serve for the exercise of hospitality. This was connected with the Abbot's Hall, just as at Durham there is a kitchen connected with the Castle

Hall, quite distinct from the monastic kitchen. At Durham the Bishop, who took the place of Abbot, resided in the Castle. Mr. Fowler believed that there were kitchens at Westminster and elsewhere connected with the Abbot's Halls, and quite distinct from the refectory kitchens. Then there was, thirdly, the infirmary kitchen. Of the three, he thought the famous Glastonbury kitchen was the *Abbot's Kitchen*, and not the *Abbey Kitchen*, grounding his opinion mainly upon its great distance from the church, and suggesting that the foundations of the Abbey Kitchen, if existing, might probably be found in the apple orchard, considerably to the east of this kitchen, and due south from the nave of the church.

*The Abbey Ruins.*¹

The party then proceeded to the ruins of the Abbey Church, under the guidance of Mr. Parker, halting first on the south side of ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL; from thence they proceeded to the GREAT CHURCH, taking up a position where the central tower stood; and afterwards to the CHOIR. At each place

Mr. JAMES PARKER gave an architectural and historical address on the ruins, which he has since kindly enlarged and corrected from the reporter's notes. This will be found in Part II, p. 25.

The Rev. J. T. FOWLER, being called upon, gave a description of the general arrangements of Monastic Buildings, observing that there was nothing here to guide them, almost everything having been swept away. In every great monastic building there would have to be provision for Divine service, monastic business, refreshments, and sleeping. All these requisite buildings would be grouped round a yard or cloister court. The Church was almost always, as in the present instance, on the north side. On the eastern side of the quadrangle should be found a passage going eastwards to the Cemetery. Between the south transept of the Church and the Chapter House there would be what was called the Slype,

(1). See *Proceedings* Som. Arc. Soc., vol. ix. pl. i. for illustrations.

where it was customary to allow the corpse to lie the night before burial. In the Chapter House all monastic business was transacted, and often in connection with it was the Prison, as at Durham. On the south side of the quadrangle would be the Refectory, near the door of which would be a Lavatory. South of the refectory would be the Abbey Kitchen. The west side of the cloister walk would be occupied by the Dormitories. The north walk of the cloister would lead to the Church, and this north walk was generally provided with seats for the monks. Mr. Fowler concluded by pointing out what he considered would be the position in the Church of the high altar.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE said when Professor Willis examined the ruins he pointed out where the altar should be, and with a crowbar sounded and got at the foundation.

The PRESIDENT proposed that the thanks of the Society should be accorded to Mr. Austin for his kindness in allowing them to go over the ruins, and expressed the pleasure the Society felt at finding the place so well cared for by him. Also to Mrs. Rees-Mogg and Miss Naish for throwing open to them the grounds of the Abbot's Kitchen; and to Mr. Parker and the Rev. J. T. Fowler, for the trouble they had taken in explaining everything to them.

The thanks were unanimously accorded.

The party next proceeded to the

Tithe Barn.

Mr. PARKER said he did not know where the earliest mention of barns (*bere-erns*) occurred, but places for storing the wheat (*bere*)—or rather bar-ley—were probably as old as our language. The many bar-tons, or enclosure where the barn or granary was situate, testify to this, as the name is found in charters as early as any other *ton*. Every monastery had its chief barn, which in later times took the name of the tithe-barn. And some monasteries whose possessions were scattered had of course more than one tithe-

barn. In the present instance they had a barn on which the architect had lavished the same skill as on the domestic buildings, and had perhaps gone one step farther, and had lavished somewhat the same artistic skill as he would on a church. He had not seen in any other part of the country the figures of the four Evangelists sculptured and placed on the four corners, as was the case there, and which appears to have been followed in other cases in the neighbourhood where barns were erected at the cost of this Abbey. That barn was not so large as many other tithe barns in the country, and did not strike him as being so large as might have been expected to have belonged to a monastery of such an extent as that of Glastonbury; but still there was no doubt that it was the head tithe-barn of that Monastery. With regard to its date, it was probably built in the time of Nicholas Frome, who was appointed in 1420. However, this was rather a guess from the style of architecture than anything else; for, though we have a record of considerable buildings erected during his tenure of office, such as houses rebuilt in the High Street, the ale-house and bake-house at Southend, the miller's house, and the wall the whole length of the south side of the Abbey garden, the mention of the tithe-barn does not occur. Probably this arises from the cost of building coming under the ordinary expenses of the house, and not defrayed by any special benefaction. Taken altogether, the barn was one of the best preserved he had ever visited.

The PRESIDENT said there was a barn at Wells, although not so good as the one they were inspecting. This was certainly the best piece of work in a barn he had ever seen.

The Tor.

The party having climbed the hill and assembled near the tower on the top of the Tor,

Mr. PARKER said he would only make a few general observations as time was pressing. When we remember that the

Archangel S. Michael was stationed on the summit of the Hill and Castle to guard Rome—that the “Mounts” in the two respective bays off Cornwall and Normandy are dedicated to S. Michael, no wonder that this lofty hill, which afforded a suitable spot whence the saint could watch not only over the Abbey lying beneath, but it may be even said over the whole of Somerset, was here surmounted by a chapel dedicated in his honour. We have no record when the chapel was first built; but in Henry I’s time there was a charter granting a fair to be held annually “apud monasterium S. Michaelis de Torre.” The charter being dated April 1, 1127 (the King being then at Bordeaux), we may say that the hill was dedicated to S. Michael before that date and that there was then a chapel here. In those days a fair was a very important event, and was a great source of revenue to the landlord. In the time of John de Taunton, who was Abbot in 1274, there is a record that the little church on the hill was destroyed. The words of the chronicler, John of Glastonbury, are “At this time in the year 1275, on the third Ides of September (Sep. 11), the Chapel of S. Michael of Torre fell down by reason of an earthquake.” The earthquake referred to was undoubtedly nothing more than a landslip, for which the geological formation of the hill, namely limestone resting on a bed of clay, provided the requisite elements, and of which the present appearance gave evidence. About 1290 a series of indulgencies were granted for the purpose of restoration, and it was no doubt soon afterwards that S. Michael’s Chapel was rebuilt. He should put the tower down as 14th century work, with 15th century additions to it; but they would see that the whole of the eastern part of the building had been done away with, and that now only the tower remained.

The Evening Meeting

was held at the Town Hall and was presided over by Mr. Freeman.

Mr. J. MC MURTRIE read a paper "On the Lamb Bottom Caverns at Harptree," which will be found in Part II, p. 1.

Mr. W. BOYD DAWKINS said he had listened to the paper with very great pleasure, Mr. Mc Murtrie having put the matter before them in a very simple and practical manner, explaining one of those explorations which were only to be carried out at great risk to the explorer. He need hardly tell them that wherever they got thick masses of limestone there they would be sure to get great subterranean passages of the kind described. The one in question seemed to him to be an admirable type of the whole series. The hollow made in the solid crystalline limestone by the dissolving action of the carbonic acid in the rain water became widened more and more, until they got the result which had been described that evening. If it happened that a large quantity of water converged upon one point they might have a most stupendous hole excavated. Those caverns were really great subterranean water courses, and whether dry or not at the present time they were originally excavated by the action of the carbonic acid, which caused the limestone to be dissolved. The theory that the caverns might have been formed by fissures mechanically produced would not hold good at all. That they were formed many ages ago, long before this country had any history, was proved by the objects which were found in those caverns, representing animals which were in existence in this country at those times. They had the arctic beasts side by side with the southern beasts, as had been proved to the satisfaction of all geologists. He had very great pleasure in adding his testimony to the value of researches such as those made by Mr. Mc Murtrie.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD also made some remarks.

Mr. EMANUEL GREEN read a paper "On some Flemish Weavers settled at Glastonbury A.D. 1551," which is given in Part II, p. 17.

Mr. JOHN MORLAND called the attention of the Society to an old road he had discovered in excavating at Northover, about one mile from Glastonbury, and wished the Society to visit and inspect it while they were in the neighbourhood.

It was intimated that if time could be found a visit should be paid to the road in question.

The meeting closed with votes of thanks to the readers of papers.

Wednesday.

At 10 o'clock a meeting was held in the Town Hall, which was presided over by Mr. Freeman.

Mr. DYMOND read a paper on "The Abbot's Way," which is given in Part II.

Mr. W. BOYD DAWKINS said that there was no doubt that the age of those Corduroy roads in some parts of Europe was enormous, and alluded to the fact that they had been found in some of the Swiss lakes. On the other hand, he believed them to have been used until within the last few years in Britain. In Australia roads of that kind continued to be made, and in America they were very common. With regard to those in that neighbourhood they had nothing on which they could fix the date, although they might have been used by the Abbots of Glastonbury, and by the inhabitants of this country before as well as after. When they came to the question of the age of the forests which underlay those turbaries, they came to a question of exceeding difficulty,—a question on which he had a great amount of diffidence in hazarding an answer. First, however, let them examine the forests. Beginning on the sea level and examining the submarine forests,

they would find that they were not confined to the coast of Somersetshire, but ran all along the low shelving coast-line of this country and of the Channel Islands, and all along the coast-line of France, where they would find their traces. The trees were oak, ash, yew, birch, elder, and Scotch fir, the forest being composed of trees of that sort; and if they examined the trunks they would find that in nine cases out of ten they were lying parallel one to another, and pointing with the heads of the trees away from the direction of the prevalent winds. The meaning of that was that the prevalent winds blew them down. Then the question came, how was it all those forests were destroyed? In dealing with the destruction of those forests they had a cause for the position of the trees. The conclusion at which he had arrived in the matter had certainly cost him a great deal of time and trouble, as well as a great deal of thought, but still he had come to a deliberate opinion on the subject, and he preferred not to take a mere parochial point of view. The destruction of those forests was due to the formation of peat. Peat was a thing of an exceedingly uncertain rate of growth. It was, as most of them knew, merely the result of the accumulation of vegetable matter. The rate of the accumulation of the vegetable matter depended on two things—the amount which there was and the rate at which it decayed. Those were questions depending much on temperature and moisture. Supposing they had a clear and free drainage; supposing they had a slope and a free drainage down that slope, they would have little accumulation of vegetable matter on it; but if they stopped the drainage they would have an accumulation, which was practically peat, if the temperature would allow of it. In some cases that accumulation had gone on for an enormous space of time, and then they had thick peat bogs, sometimes even on the tops of hills. Peat grew necessarily in water, and as its growth was mainly dependent upon moisture this increased *pari passu* with the growth of the vegetable accumulation in much the same sort of

way as when they wetted a sponge. The result of that was that when they had a favourable condition for the development of peat, they had that peat gradually encroaching on the land until ultimately they might have peat bogs extending over wide areas of land which were formerly cultivated. That was undoubtedly in reality the history of the destruction of those forests. They found those which were destroyed in that manner were pretty near the sea level, and in some cases 10 fathoms below it. Some of those submarine forests were part and parcel of the forest which flourished at the time when this country stood higher than it did at the present day, for they knew that those forest trees were not in the habit of growing at the bottom of the sea. The mode in which those trees were destroyed by the peat was simply this: the moisture from the peat bogs gradually acted on the roots until they rotted, and then the prevalent winds blew them down.

Mr. DICKINSON communicated the following:—

The most important archæological event of the year, for this county, is the publication of Mr. Eyton's book on Domesday. He has great and accurate knowledge of events and men in the times after the Conquest, and great industry, and shows singular sagacity in putting together things that at first sight seem to have no relation to each other. His book must be read along with that which he published in 1878, on Dorset. In both he has used certain tax returns which are extant at Exeter in the same book which contains the copy of the Domesday of the five western counties, commonly called the Exon Domesday, to construct the hundreds of the county as they then existed, and so help out the identification of places.

These returns were made in 1084, two years before Domesday.

It is not always easy to see the reason for Mr. Eyton's assertions. Perhaps I have hardly the right to say this, as my reading of both his books has, as yet, been superficial and imperfect; but I must add that in several instances, when at

first I thought him wrong, I have found that he was certainly right. This relates to the general doctrines which he lays down, and not to his identification of places; as to these he has had no option but generally to follow Collinson.

I have been much pleased to see the hearty praise he gives to Collinson. It has been the fashion in our Society to run down Collinson, because other counties have better histories. He is doubtless not complete or faultless: it must be remembered that the book has been written nearly 100 years. When Mr. Eyton is wrong, he is generally wrong with Collinson; not unfrequently he corrects him and adds to his information.²

The tax returns on which he bases his identification of places have long been pointed out as valuable for this purpose, and I have been desirous myself to work on them, and made such preparations as I have found possible; but I was conscious that critical work on these materials was not all that was required, and that it was expedient to get together the lists of the places—whether manors, tithings, or parishes in each hundred—from the earliest date after Domesday, and compare them with each other and with it.

I have therefore copied out such lists as I could find at the Record Office, of the time of Edward the 1st, and subsequently, and my papers have been for some time in the hands of your Secretary, with a view to publication in our transactions.³ I hope they may be of some use, as they certainly will, when they show that the clever guesses of Collinson, and the still more able inductions of Mr. Eyton, are certainly true. Perhaps it may not be amiss for me to add, in speaking to an assembly at Glastonbury, that Mr. Eyton confirms the impression I had formed, that all the flat country round Glastonbury

(2). Mr. Hooper has told me that Mr. Eyton has corrected a confusion of Collinson concerning two manors named Thorne, one of which belongs to Mr. Hooper. Blackmoor is said by Collinson to be in Churchill. This Mr. Eyton has corrected. His identification of Terra Olta as Ashholt is a very good guess indeed.

(3). In consequence of the resignation of Mr. Hunt, I have thought it better to postpone these papers until I can confer with his successor.

was morass at the time of the Conquest—undrained, and covered with underwood. There is no mill recorded at Glastonbury, though that at Baltonsbury is mentioned; and it follows that the artificial course of the Brue between But Moor and South Moor was made after the Conquest. A part of that course, if my eye does not deceive me, was cut in a line with the steeple of the Abbey Church, seen over the hill, like the roads from Butleigh and Godney.

Mr. Eyton does not agree with me in thinking that the jurisdiction of Glaston Twelve Hides was not really ancient, that the documents made use of to prove its authority were written between the time of the Conquest and that of William of Malmesbury—some 50 or 60 years later. At least, he holds there was a jurisdiction of life and death in the Abbot of Glastonbury and the Bishop of Wells, in their estates, or some of them, as there was undoubtedly at Taunton on the lands of the Bishop of Winchester.

This it is no concern of mine to dispute, but I see no mention of it in Domesday, and I am pretty sure that the greater part of the Glastonbury deeds were made—I do not like to say forged; that would be an unreasonable and very harsh expression—during the interval I speak of.

When some competent scholar, such as Professor Stubbs, who has worked on St. Dunstan, gives us a new and critical edition of William of Malmesbury's history of Glastonbury, with a careful study of the charters contained in it, and the other local charters of the Abbey, the truth of these things will be ascertained.

So far I had written before the papers of the President and Mr. Parker were read. There having been no opportunity for me to make any remarks on these papers, I wish to express my sense of the value of the views conveyed in them. While going beyond Mr. Parker, in throwing doubts on the Glastonbury charters, I look on Mr. Freeman's view, that there may be much historical truth conveyed in them, as most important.

One of the Glastonbury charters, which purports to relate to Othery, gives the boundaries of some place on the Otter in Devonshire. A comparison of the language of the Bath, Winchester, and Glastonbury charters relating to boundaries in this county, makes it plain, even to a person so little versed in our ancient language as I am, that the Glastonbury charters are the latest and those of Bath the earliest. The boundaries of Ditchet are those of the modern parish, not of the lordship described in Domesday, and seem to have been written when the state of things familiar to those who made the local returns for Domesday was forgotten. The possessions also which Glastonbury had lost, and those held by homage, are not represented in the extant charters so fully as they would be if the charters were altogether genuine and complete. It is plain, however, that we ought not to deal with a charter as forged because some one had modernized the boundaries, or because the religious house had caused new returns of the boundaries to be made and substituted them for the older boundaries when the charters were copied in a book.

I would suggest that our Society should agree on a representation to the Master of the Rolls that a new and critical edition of William of Malmesbury on Glastonbury should be given as one of the publications of the series under his control. Professor Stubbs, as the editor of the works of St. Dunstan, is plainly pointed out as the proper person for this work, but it does not become the Society to do more than express its wish generally, it has not right to dictate the name of the editor, or what other matter relating to Glastonbury may fitly be added on to the text of William of Malmesbury.

The morning meeting closed with votes of thanks to Mr. Boyd Dawkins and the readers of papers.

The Hospitals.

The party then proceeded to visit places of interest in the town. At the Hospital in Magdalen Street,

The Rev. W. HUNT pointed out that the style of the
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building was of the 13th century, it having been cut down to its present dimensions in the 14th century by Adam de Sodbury. It was dedicated to S. Mary Magdalen.

The PRESIDENT remarked that at one time the hospital contained a great hall opening into the chapel, which was a similar arrangement to many of the infirmaries of monasteries, as a convenience for the patients, and the same arrangement was also found in some ancient dwelling-houses. This hall had since apparently been divided into habitations for the old people of the almshouses.

The Almshouses at the back of the Red Lion Inn were next visited, the principal object of interest being the chapel.

Mr. BULLEID said the dedication of the chapel was unknown, but the building was evidently the work of Richard Bere, the last abbot but one of Glastonbury.

The Rev. J. T. FOWLER called attention to a recess in the side of the altar, and said if the altar was an original one it was very interesting to find such a recess, it being used as a place in which to keep the priest's vestments.

St. Benedict's Church.

The Rev. W. HUNT said there was no doubt this edifice was erected by Abbot Richard Bere, whose initials appeared over the porch. One of the chapels in the church was called the Sharpham Chapel, because when the church was built Abbot Bere attached it to the Manor of Sharpham. Inside, Mr. Hunt said there was nothing of very great interest; there was a clerestory without an arcade, and remains of a fine reredos.

A window in Northload Street, with fine wooden tracery, attracted some attention.

The George Hotel.

The Rev. W. HUNT said that inn was probably built in the time of Edward IV, by Abbot Selwood. It was said to have been built as a guest house for the abbey; but in his opinion

it had clearly been built for an inn, just as it was at present. The lower windows were of later insertion. There was a fine hall inside, which was approached by the original staircase from below.

The Tribunal.

Mr. BULLEID said it was generally believed that this building was the Court House of Glaston Twelve Hides, where petty cases were heard. It was traditional that there were large dungeons below, but he had never had it explored. As the floor was now in a capital condition, unless he had some clearer evidence as to the existence of the dungeons, he should not like to interfere with it.

St. John's Church.

Mr. BULLEID said this church was built by Abbot Selwood in 1485, on the site of an earlier Norman church. When the restoration was going on in 1859 the bases of some pillars of the older church were found. The earlier church appeared to have had a central tower. The present tower was built subsequently at the west end, and was one of the finest towers in Somerset, ranking third, the others being Wrington and St. Cuthbert's, Wells. It was about 140 feet high to the top of the pinnacles, which were added about 60 or 70 years since, they being formerly rather higher than they are now. At the east end of the church there was a very fine altar tomb to John Atyeo.

The Rev. W. HUNT said he had been informed by Mr. Merrick, who conducted the restoration, that he found the remains of the central tower, and that the present piers rested on the bases of the old piers. Referring to the present state of the chancel roof, Mr. Hunt said it was sad to see a roof of that kind deformed by such colouring, and it was a pity that artists had not been employed as well as painters.

The Society was then entertained at Luncheon, at the George Hotel, provided by the Local Committee. The Mayor of Glastonbury (Mr. J. Albert Porch) presided.

Excursion.

At half-past two o'clock the Society started on an Excursion, the first halt being made at

Meare.⁴

On arriving at this village the party proceeded to the FISH HOUSE, where

Mr. PARKER said the house had been called a cottage of the time of Edward II or Edward III. In his opinion, however, it was far more than a cottage, and was probably the residence of an official of importance connected with Glastonbury Abbey. It was probably built in the time of Adam de Sodbury, from 1322 to 1335, that being a time when a good deal of money was spent on buildings. Unfortunately, however, the records of the abbey expenses had been lost, or they might have been able to find in them something definite relating to that building. There were records of there having been large lakes in that vicinity, probably used for the purpose of supplying fish to the abbey, and very likely that house was the residence of the person in charge of that department.

The BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS said he was sorry to have heard that the old Fish House was going to be converted into cottages, but he hoped the present visit of the Society would have the effect of influencing the owner to let it remain as it was.

The next stop was made at the MANOR HOUSE, now occupied by Mr. George Look.

Mr. PARKER said there was evidence that probably a manor house of some kind existed here in the time of Abbot Michael of Ambresbury, for after serving the Abbey for eighteen years, he retired in the year 1252 to the manor at Mere to rest, though retaining for his use also a chamber and offices within the monastery at Glastonbury. He could, however, see no archi-

(4). See *Proc. Som. Arc. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 32, for illustrations of the Fish House and Manor House.

tectural feature remaining here which would correspond with a date so early. When Adam of Sodbury became abbot, in 1323, he repaired a great many manor houses and other buildings belonging to the abbey. The abbey chronicler, John of Glastonbury, specially mentions that he had chapels and chambers at Mere, Pulton, and Domerham, constructed of a splendid kind, with other costly buildings. At Mere also he had the church dedicated, and the court there surrounded with a stone wall, with a variety of fishponds. This then probably marks the date of all the chief architectural features now visible. He died in 1334, so that probably the buildings were completed during those ten years. The chamber, commonly called the hall, however, appeared to him more like a solar, or upper room, although it was certainly a very large one. It might have been used both for the purposes of a solar and a hall. The length of the room was sixty feet. In the window at the end they had a specimen of the practice in the Middle Ages, when glass was dear, of removing the windows from one house to another, as the frames were readily lifted off. The fireplace was a large and interesting one. The south wing, it would be seen, had a porch, and although this part of the building had undergone many changes, the hall probably was here, occupying the whole height of the building, while the solar was on the first floor, with kitchen and other offices beneath. Several alterations were made in the time of Abbot Bere, and it is probable that the hall was divided into small chambers, and the large solar served for dining hall and court room. On several occasions disputes seem to have occurred between the Abbey and the Bishop of Wells, as to the rights of fishery in the Mere or pool (whence the name), and also as to the right of taking fuel, thatch, and other materials from the moor.

The CHURCH was next visited.

The Rev. W. HUNT said the chancel was built about the time of Edward II, having been dedicated in the time of Abbot Adam of Sodbury, and contained five Decorated

windows. The chancel roof was rather peculiar, as it was more of a domestic than an ecclesiastical character. The nave was built in the latter part of the 15th century, and did not fit the chancel. In the vestry was a curious wooden alms-box, on a pedestal.

Mr. BULLEID called attention to the fact that there was a splendid peal of bells in the tower, which it was said had been recast from the old bells of Glastonbury Abbey.

After a pleasant drive through the TURBARIES, where the process of cutting the peat for fuel was witnessed with much interest, the party arrived at

Shapwick,

and proceeded to the MANOR HOUSE, the residence of George Warry, Esq.

The Rev. C. GRANT read the following paper, written by Mr. George Deedes Warry, son of the proprietor of the manor,

On the Manor of Shapwick.

The entire parish was formerly monastic property, held by the monks of Glastonbury Abbey in two rights. First, as owners of the manor, which was granted them before the Norman Conquest, in the year 745, by Lulla, a pious lady; and secondly, in right of an impropriation of the rectory, which was effected in the 25th year of Bishop Josceline's episcopate.⁵ Upon their manorial property they had a Grange, which is described in Warner's history of the Abbey. The parcels of land are there set out, and the moat, which is now called the Island, is mentioned. By right of their impropriation, the Monks became possessed of the rectorial manse, which is now Mr. Strangway's house, and probably a good part of the old building still remains. Of course, at the Dissolution of Glastonbury Abbey, in 1539, the whole property reverted to the king. In subsequent grants the rectorial property and the manorial property were kept entirely distinct; and whenever a fresh grant of the rectorial property was made, it was always

(5). See two documents, No. 26, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

expressed to have belonged to the lately dissolved monastery of Glastonbury, and to have been attached to the office of almoner.

In one document three items are mentioned as having belonged to the rectory—the tithe barn (since pulled down), the dove cote (now standing), and a field opposite Mr. Strangway's house, therein called Ingrasshay—now corrupted into Grassy. The first grant of the manorial property was to a man named Walton; and to show how that name has been kept up, there is now an Auster tenement, or right of common, in King Sedgmoor, called Walton's. George Rolle, the ancestor of the Devonshire family, and the London merchant, was a large purchaser of Abbey lands. He died in 1552. His great grandson, Sir Henry Rolle, was a very distinguished lawyer. He became Sergeant-at-Law in the 16th year of Charles the First, a puisne Judge of the Queen's Bench in 1645, and the first Chief Justice of that Court under the Commonwealth in 1648, both Houses of Parliament concurring in his appointment. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, says that he purchased the manor house at Shapwick, but it is quite reasonable, also, to think that he inherited it. However, to him is attributed the building of the house. The greater part of that work remains, but since that time it has been sadly disfigured. The dining room, at the back of the house, was built at the beginning of the present century, and the mullion windows pulled out at the same time, with a view to entertainment and comfort, rather than out of respect to architectural taste. The drawing room has been taken out of the height of the hall, which, no doubt, formerly extended up to the lofty roof. In front will be seen the usual dove cote, and the moat was still in existence, which supplied fish to the monks on fasting days. Sir Henry Rolle is said to have gone the Western Circuit with Judge Nicholas in 1649. He was deposed by Cromwell from his office in 1655, and, seemingly, retired from public life. Lord Campbell says that he died at

Shapwick, and was buried in a little village adjoining ; but why not in Shapwick ? The following entry appears in the register of that parish, "Henry Rolle, Esquier, late Lord Chiefe Justis, died the 30th day of July, and was buried the 4th of September, 1656." The family had a vault in the Church there, and an escutcheon of the Rolle family was dug up some sixty years ago, and is still preserved. It formerly ornamented the coffin of Samuel Rolle, who died without issue, and left his property to Henry, the first Lord, whose initials are on the back of the grate in the hall. He was the grandson of the Lord Chief Justice.

After the Dissolution a grant was made of the living to one Dyer, and he was succeeded by a man named Berkeley in the time of Queen Elizabeth. During his time there was a suit promoted in the Court of Exchequer, between the parishioners and himself, as the owner of the impropriate Rectory, to determine whether he or they should repair the parish Church. The question never arose before, they having united both properties. I cannot find that a judgment was ever given, although the evidence is set out in a document to be found in the Record Office in Chancery Lane. The probability is that the suit was compromised, the lay-rector having thereafter repaired the chancel, and the parishioners having done the same for the rest of the Church, and probably this suit formed a precedent for the practice or custom now prevailing in most vicarages. It does not lie with me to describe the Church, but I hold that it was re-built, not on its own site, but on its present one, by the monks, just after the impropriation, which took place between 1261 and 1274, in the abbacy of John de Tantone. The name of the field where the former building stood bears to this day the name of "Old Church," and the boundary of the old churchyard is distinctly marked by the unevenness of the ground. On the border there are several very venerable pollard elms, in a state of decay. There was a spring of water on the spot, which, in the absence of an

outflow, caused it to become quite swampy and unsound; and when (between 60 and 70 years ago) it was drained, human bones were dug up. It may be mentioned that the present churchyard wall seems to have been the subject of fierce dispute, because its patch-work condition shows that it was divided amongst the different occupiers for the purposes of repair. The Rolle family continued to hold the property till about the year 1785, when they obtained a private Act of Parliament, enabling them to concentrate their property in Devonshire. For a few years it was held by the Templar family, and then came into possession of the present owners, of whom he might, perhaps, be allowed to say—*Stet fortuna domus*.

THE OLD RECTORY HOUSE was next visited, and inspected from the outside, the present owner, Mr. H. B. Strangways, being absent from home.

THE REV. C. GRANT said the house was supposed to have been the residence of the almoner of Glastonbury Abbey, but no doubt many alterations had been made in the building since that time, in the windows, and so on. The present screen in front of the house was erected by the Strangways' family about 200 years ago, in order to shut out of sight the farm buildings to the eastward. On the left of the premises there used to stand an old tithe barn, only second in importance and dimensions to the one at Glastonbury, and opposite to the barn were the old stables. There was nothing of great interest to be seen in the interior of the house.

THE PRESIDENT explained that although the building was called the rectory it had nothing to do with the Church, as it had always been the property and residence of the lay rector.

The party next proceeded to the CHURCH, where

THE REV. C. GRANT said the Church was dedicated to St. Mary. Collinson, in his *History of Somersetshire*, stated that Adam de Sodbury, Abbot of Glastonbury from 1322 to 1335, rebuilt the Church at his own expense. No doubt the

former Church stood on the site described by Mr. Warry. This fell into a dilapidated state, and it was found necessary to rebuild it. Mr. Grant was of opinion that instead of doing this, the Abbot granted the use of his private Chapel to the parishioners, which stood where the present church stands, and that Abbot Sodbury built the present Church. In 1640 it was repaired and restored. In 1861 it was restored to its present condition, according to plans executed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott. It consists of a nave, chancel, and central tower. The chancel was restored by the lay-rector, Mr. Henry Bull Strangways, at his own expense. The roof and windows are entirely new; the window at the east end is a memorial to the late Mr. Henry Bull Stangways and Elishaba his wife—he died in 1829, and she in 1858. The chancel also contains monuments belonging to the Bull and the Strangways families. On the north-west corner of the chancel there is a tombstone bearing the names of Richard, Ann, and Catherine Davidge, of Sharpham Park. Catherine, according to the register-books, died in 1711. The roof of the chancel is of the same pitch as the original roof. In the nave there is an old waggon roof, which is a part of the restoration of 1640, and there were evidences discovered at the last restoration which show that it is of a much lower pitch than the one it replaced. At the west end of the Church is a memorial window to the Rev. Thomas Mason, formerly vicar of the parish, who died in 1863. On the south side is a small memorial window to the Rev. Elias Taylor, formerly proprietor of the manorial property of Shapwick, who died in 1827. On the same side of the Church is another memorial window to some members of the Warry family. On the north side of the nave is a memorial tablet to the Rev. George Henry Templar, formerly vicar, who died in 1849. In the vestry, built in the wall, is a stone bearing an ornamental cross, which was discovered some years ago while making a drain round the church, thought by some to be the lid of an old stone coffin. In the porch there

are three tombstones, one to Mary Butts, 1636 ; one to Captain Thomas Silver, 1707 ; and the third to a member of the Swaine family, 1637. These were formerly in the middle aisle of the Church, but were moved to their present position at the restoration in 1861. The registers begin at 1599, and are in a fairly good state of preservation ; but contain nothing of special interest or importance.

The PRESIDENT called attention to the central tower which was not usual in Somerset churches, they generally having western towers.

The next halt was made at

Edalton.

MR. PARKER explained that the CHURCH was a comparatively modern building, and had been recently restored. In the interior he called attention to the recumbent figure of a priest, with a plain alb and chasuble, but without a chalice at the head ; and also to a fragment of an old arch, which was probably the covering of the recumbent figure.

The party were entertained at tea in the pleasant grounds of the rectory, by the Rev. J. G. Hickley.

The old RECTORY HOUSE, a building of about the 15th century, was next inspected from the outside, and the party proceeded to

Sharpham.

The Manor House of Sharpham is a building of somewhat uncertain date, although known to have been granted by one of the abbots of Glastonbury. It is now occupied by Mr. Govett ; but a great deal of interest is centred in the building in consequence of its having formerly been the residence of Fielding, the novelist, a room in the house being pointed out as his library. Much regret was expressed at the recent destruction of the fine avenue of trees leading to the house.

A drive through Street brought the party to

Northover.

where a halt was made in the Street road, near Pontus Peri-

culosus, where the portion of the newly-discovered old road was inspected.

Mr. MORLAND pointed out that the road was twelve feet wide, well made of stone, supported on both sides by oak piles, about seven feet in length, with a string of oak from one pile to the other. Much interest was displayed in the excavation, and hopes were expressed that further researches would be made into the matter.⁶ Thanks were accorded to Mr. Morland for the trouble he had taken.

This brought the proceedings of the day to a close, and the party returned to Glastonbury.

Thursday : Excursion.

The party assembled at the George Hotel at 10 a.m. and drove by the Tor to

Ponter's Ball.

Mr. DICKINSON said the earthwork was about 15 feet high from the ground, and on the eastern side there were signs of a fosse. The earthwork had very likely been made to defend Glastonbury from anything coming from the east. When it was thrown up the ground all round, except the narrow isthmus on this side, was all morass, so that the construction of this earthwork made Glastonbury perfectly safe from attack. When it was made was a question he could not undertake to answer; but it was thought that it was more ancient than Roman, and that it dated back to very early times indeed. They might imagine it as being originally five or six feet higher than it was at the present time. Mr. Bulleid had told him that the entrance to the field was called Havyate, the latter portion of which word evidently referred to a gate; and probably at one time there was a gate there in an old road leading through Glastonbury to Polden. They would observe that the field in which they were standing was five or six feet

(6). A full description of the excavation of the road at this point will probably be brought before the next meeting of the Society.

higher than the next field towards Glastonbury, which led to the belief that there was once a village close by and protected by the fortress.

Mr. BULLEID remarked that by some persons the earth-work was called Ponter's Vall; but he believed the correct name was Ponter's Ball.

Mr. DICKINSON said that both names were really the same and referred to a wall.

The party next drove to

West Pennard Church.

The Rev. W. HUNT explained the architectural features of this and all other churches visited throughout the day from notes supplied by Mr. E. B. Ferrey, who was prevented from attending the meeting owing to the severe illness of his father, Mr. Benjamin Ferrey.

Mr. Hunt said the Church was dedicated to S. Nicholas. The tower was very massive, built about the time of Edward IV, and showing very distinctly the best type of Perpendicular work. The base mouldings and mouldings to the doorway were remarkably good. There was a stoup on the south side of the tower doorway. The carved angels in the string course over the doorway were very beautiful, and the arrangement of niches on either side of the west doorway, and higher up in the tower, was a rather characteristic feature in Somersetshire towers. The west window had a bold deep cavetto moulding, with great recessing to the glass line, and was a fine specimen of the earlier Perpendicular period, with very good tracery. There was no label moulding, an omission to be noticed pretty generally elsewhere in this church. On the south side of the lower part of the tower the blue lias stone had been cased. This was done in 1813, so that after service the people might play at fives. The stair-turret on the north side of the tower was of good bold design. The tower is 66 feet high, and was taken down and underpinned (the decayed battlements being restored) as low as the clock, in the year 1853. The upper

portion of the tower, particularly the belfry-stage, appeared to be later than the lower, and was certainly not so well designed. The belfry windows, compared with many village churches in Somerset, were poor, and the same remark applied to the buttresses. The perforated stone louvres were modern, and probably not like what the original ones were. The pinnacles slightly projected from the battlements, and the arrangement of niches in the centre of the battlements was rather unusual. The lead spire added much to its picturesque appearance. There were five bells of 17th century date. The high closely panellled battlement to the south aisle resembled the parapets at Wedmore Church, but wanted the grace of the perforated quatrefoil parapet to the nave of this (West Pennard) church. The porch had a modern finial to its south gable, but the arrangement of the tracery to the niche was curious. The windows to the south aisle were good specimens of the best Perpendicular period, and there was a stair-turret at the south-east angle of the south aisle leading up to the lead flat. There was a priest's door in the chancel, as would be found in all the five churches to be visited that day, but this one was very late 16th century work, and an after insertion. There was a good segmental-headed Perpendicular window at the east end, the tracery of which had been restored. There was a north door peculiarly treated with respect to the window. The west window of the north aisle was out of the centre on account of the stair turret of the tower, and the rear arch, internally of crippled outline, seems purposely adapted to the situation. There was a plain unpierced parapet to the north aisle, with ribbon-like enrichments and carved bosses at intervals. The north aisle was evidently of earlier date than the south. The clerestory windows, with their graceless elliptical arches, and heads destitute of labels, though looking more like late Decorated than Perpendicular, were really very late Tudor.

Interior.—The early Perpendicular groining to the tower

was very good, the tower arch being of the panelled type so usual in Somersetshire churches of this date. The levels of the Church were the original ones, *i.e.*, the tower one step below the nave, and the east end of the chancel well raised. The clerestory windows had no relation to the arcade under, which on the south side was very irregular, having a very wide easternmost arch, a wide arch opposite the porch, and a narrow arch next the tower. The wide easternmost arch obviously originally opened out into a chantry chapel, screened off from the nave, with a squint at the south side of the chancel arch. This squint had been enlarged late in the 16th century. The arcade on the north side was of earlier date than the south, and the nave arcade and clerestory were certainly later in date than the aisles. The nave ceiling was a characteristic Somersetshire one; the angels were modern. The north aisle roof was original and very beautiful; the south aisle ceiling was inserted in 1852, under the old roof. The south door was a good mediæval panelled one. The capitals to the chancel arch were restored in 1852, and copied from the old ones; the mouldings to this arch were far superior to those of the tower. The beautiful early 16th century rood-screen had been, unfortunately, *varnished*. The cross was of course modern. Like most of the old rood-screens, it would be observed to be plainer on the east side than on the west. The aumbry on the north side of the chancel was entirely modern, but the piscina on the south side was original, but restored. The chancel ceiling was good and characteristic Somersetshire work; the pulpit and font were modern.

Mr. PARKER accounted for the great width of the arcade on the south side nearest the chancel, by supposing a rood-loft to have originally existed here, the removal of which necessitated the widening of the arch.

Churchyard Cross. .

The beautiful churchyard CROSS was examined. It consists of an octagonal base of four steps, with a square socket,

containing sunk panels, sculptured in relief, on three sides of which are emblems of the crucifixion, with, on the north side, the initials R.B. under an abbot's mitre, said to be those of Richard Beere, Abbot of Glastonbury, 1493 to 1524, who is supposed to have erected this cross. The square, tapering shaft is surmounted by part of the original abacus, consisting of angels with outspread wings, which supported the head.

West Bradley

was next visited, the party stopping *en route* at the TITHE BARN, a building of 15th century date, supposed to have been built by Abbot Beere.

The Rev. W. HUNT said the Church was a small and unpretending building. The tower was of plain design, without buttresses; built of blue lias, without freestone quoins. A debased west doorway had been inserted, but since blocked up. There clearly was not originally a west doorway, as small churches of this type—*i.e.*, with nave, chancel, and tower—did not generally have west doorways in mediæval times. The date of the tower was about the year 1400, the west belfry window being of Flowing Decorated type; the square-headed south window to tower was a later insertion. The nave windows were good specimens of the best period of Perpendicular work. There was a stoup outside the south porch. The date of the Church was rather earlier than West Pennard, as shown, among other evidences, by the plain, unpierced parapet. The outer archway of the porch, which was very much out of the perpendicular, had a curious and unusual arrangement of capitals and mouldings. The rood stair turret on the north side, with its little window, remains. The simple type of a village Church was well exemplified by there being no label mouldings, except to the outer archway of the porch. The two easternmost rear arches of nave windows are moulded, the two westernmost ones only chamfered. The vaulting to the lower stage of tower was bold and good, but the tower arch, unfortunately, had been mutilated, and its original respond

converted. The arrangement of the raised baptistry (with the Norman font) was good. There were three bells; 1606 date. The roof to the nave, though at first sight quite modern, on closer examination would be found to be the old tie-beam roof, with additional mouldings. The chancel arch, for the period, was a very poor one. There were two curious little carved corbels on north and south sides of chancel. On the south side of chancel were the remains of the old piscina, and the corbels formerly holding images at the east end. The east window was a poor, square-headed one, but in the gable was an interesting mediæval cross. There were no buttresses to the chancel, the type throughout of this Church being very simple. The chancel was restored in 1873, and the outer surface of south wall cased.

The party then moved to the MANOR HOUSE, where they were invited to partake of the hospitality of Mr. Allen, the owner, in the shape of dairy produce, for which he is so celebrated. A fine cheese of a hundred weight was placed on the table, and cut by the President for the occasion.

Mr. GREEN remarked that in the Record Office, among the papers of the time of Henry II, there was mention made of Somerset cheese. In 1170 one Alured de Lincoln sent in his account, in which, with other purchases made in Somerset, is a charge for one hundred seams of beans, costing one hundred shillings (a seam was eight bushels), and for forty weighs of cheese, costing £11. As a weigh was 256 lbs., we get 10,240 lbs. at a cost of about a farthing per pound. Again, in 1184, Robert Fitz-Pagan renders his account, in which there is a charge for cheese bought in Somerset, "to the use of John the King's son," £10 19s. 4d. The quantity here is not named, but the amounts paid in the two cases being so nearly the same, the weights would probably be also nearly the same.

Mr. ALLEN then conducted the party to a mound or tumulus, commonly known as the "Toot," in a field about 300 yards from the house.

Mr. BOYD DAWKINS said such mounds were placed in ancient times to mark the burial places of great men. In those mounds they were supposed to live their lives over again, and to come forth from them to fight the battles they had fought in the field, if they were warriors; to hunt, if they were hunters; or to farm, if they were tillers of the soil. The mound on which they were standing appeared to be a good specimen of its class.

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Allen for his hospitality, and the party proceeded to

Baltonsburg Church.

The Rev. W. HUNT said this Church was dedicated to St. Dunstan, and for a Somersetshire one was peculiar, consisting of a nave wider than usual, without aisles. The tower was very plain and rough cast, doubtless on account of the blue lias stone having perished. There were some peculiar openings at one side of the belfry windows now blocked up, the object of which was not clear. The stair turret was plain, while the south window to the ringing chamber was very like that at West Bradley. The fantastic metal work to the tower roof was put up by a village smith. There were six bells, but all recast in 1804. The majority of the windows had no labels, and were not moulded. There were several interesting mediæval gable crosses in a fair state of preservation. The east gable cross was particularly elegant, and there was a beautiful "Decorated" cross to the south porch, and an old cross to east gable of nave. On the north side of the Church the rood stair turret remained. There was a very rich mediæval drop ring handle and escutcheon to the south door. The massive mediæval bench ends, with 15th century mouldings, were very interesting. There was a curious stool of Jacobean date in the nave passage, which was called the "stool of repentance," on which offenders formerly suffered penance during service. The hour glass stand still remained, and also a piscina in the south nave wall behind the pulpit, shewing that there must

formerly have been an altar there. The nave had the type of cradle ceiling so usual in Somersetshire, and had been restored and coloured of late years. The ancient sedilia, with shields enclosed in ornamental panels—an unusual feature in sedelia—still existed, as well as an aumbry on the north side of the sanctuary. The rood screen was modern. There was a very rich oak cornice to the chancel. Some very interesting deeds and accounts, with the original seals, were preserved, and dated 1547; the churchwardens' books commence from 1663.

The churchyard cross is modern, except the figure of the crucified Saviour, which was dug up accidentally and refixed.

Lunch was then partaken of in a tent in a field near the Baltonsbury Inn.

On the road between Baltonsbury and Barton St. David, Mr. DICKINSON called attention to St. Dunstan's Dyke.

Barton St. David Church.

The Rev. W. HUNT said this was originally a cruciform Church, of the Perpendicular period, with north and south transepts. The south transept had been destroyed, but the remains of the foundations of it still existed, as well as the arch opening into it from the nave (now walled up). The tower was rather an unusual one for a Somerset church. At Somerton, Podimore, South Petherton, and elsewhere in Somerset, were examples of octagonal towers with square bases, but here, at Barton St. David, they had a tower octagonal from the base. In Northamptonshire were several examples of octagonal towers from base to battlement. Mr. Freeman had commented on this distinction between the two counties. The upper part of the west window was entirely new, replacing a debased square-headed one; the jambs were old. The west buttresses had been rebuilt, but in such way as to show they were modern. The old Norman north doorway had been taken out and carefully refixed, and a portion of the south respond of the chancel arch restored. There was a squint on the north side of the chancel, opening

out into the tower. The font was a plain one of the Perpendicular period, and the pulpit of Jacobean date. The nave ceiling was the original one, repaired and painted. The doorway opening into the rood-loft still remained, as well as the projection for the loft. Some of the old seat panelling had been preserved and refixed at the west end of the Church. The chancel arch was not central with the nave. There were four bells; one of them 1591 in date. In the tower floor was a floriated, incised, sepulchral cross slab. A new roof had been put to the chancel; the upper part of the old piscina remained, and the rear arches were the original ones. The window to the north transept was a later insertion, probably of the Elizabethan period. The edifice had recently undergone a restoration, which, however, could be more favourably spoken of than some other restorations.

MR. PARKER said the fine Norman doorway had probably formed part of an earlier building, and had been inserted in that one; the width of the walls was certainly not sufficient to give evidence of its being a Norman building.

The VICAR referred to the fact that the parish had to pay 16d. a year to the Abbey of Glastonbury, which had to be taken in every year by twelve men.

In the churchyard the remains of the old cross were examined. On the west side of the shaft is a representation of a bishop, with mitre and maniple on the left hand; at his left side is a wallet, suspended by a strap, which passes over the right shoulder. It is generally thought to represent St. David, Archbishop of Menevia, in the early part of the 6th century.⁸

Butleigh Church.

The REV. W. HUNT said this church was dedicated to St. Benedict. It was not mediævally a cruciform Church, but consisted of nave, central tower, chancel, and south porch. The north aisle was added about 1859. The transepts were built and the Church restored in 1850. The windows to the

(8). See Pooley's *Crosses of Somerset*.

nave were very elegant, late 14th century work ; but the fine six-light west window was an insertion of Tudor times, with some painted glass still existing in the upper portion. The west gable cross is ancient. The fine porch was of the Decorated period, and the old gable cross still remained, with an elegant carved boss in the gable. The old hinges to the south door were apparently of the Decorated period, and earlier than the doorway itself. The windows to the chancel were the original ones, only repaired in 1850 ; but the east front, the roof, the aumbry, credence, and the oak stalls were entirely modern. In the Perpendicular font, the *Agnus Dei* and the pelican were each twice repeated—very unusual in mediæval work. There was an aumbry towards the easternmost end of the nave. The treatment of the rear arches internally to the Flowing Decorated windows was very elegant. The monument now on the east side of the south transept formerly stood at the east end of the chancel. The lowness of the tower arches and the groining would be noticed. The upper portion of the tower was of later date than the lower. One or two of the bench ends were old, and the rest copied from them.

MR. NEVILLE GRENVILLE said the Church was called St. Leonard's, but he believed it was dedicated to the two St. Johns, the emblems of both having been discovered in the Church.

The party were then entertained at tea by Mr. Neville Grenville, in the beautiful grounds of Butleigh Court ; after which the PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Neville Grenville for his hospitality.

The Rev. F. B. PORTMAN said as they were now almost at the close of their Meeting, it fell to his lot, as senior Vice-President, to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman, for the manner in which he had carried out the duties of President during the Meeting.

The vote of thanks having been heartily accorded,

Mr. FREEMAN returned thanks.

The Rev. F. B. PORTMAN next proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Committee.

Mr. BULLEID responded.

The party then proceeded to the

Street Lias Quarries.

Mr. BOYD-DAWKINS was called upon to make a few remarks, and in doing so he referred to the numerous fossils which were found in that and other liassic quarries, alluding especially to the fish and winged reptiles, of which fine specimens had been discovered in various places, some of them being of immense size, while others were very small. He next explained the formation of the lias stone in the different layers they saw before them. At one time the whole of that district was covered by the sea, the only land being the Quantock Hills, the Mendips being then under water. The various rivers brought down to the sea muddy sediment, like that now brought down by the Severn; and that muddy sediment—which included in some instances a large portion of carbonate of lime, while in others there was less—had been transformed in the long course of ages into the stone which they saw before them.

The party then proceeded to the residence of Mr. Gillett, where some fine specimens of saurians and other fossils were examined, and explained by Mr. Dawkins.

There were no further visits, and no stoppage was made until the party arrived at Glastonbury, thus terminating a most successful meeting.

The Local Museum

was arranged in an adjoining room, and was more than usually interesting, containing, among many other objects of general interest, the following :

Saurian and Fish remains, Plants and other Fossils, from the quarries at Street, by Mr. JAMES CLARK and Mr. GILLETT.

Flint Implements found at Street, Glastonbury, &c., by Mr. JAMES CLARK.

Stone Axe, found at Barton St. David, and Flint Implements, from Yorkshire, Mount Sinai, Mexico, &c., by the Rev. G. E. SMITH.

Some pieces of old Armour, found about 1850, in a chest in Meare Church, by Mr. J. CORNWALL.

Staff, found in a stone coffin, near Glastonbury Abbey, by Mr. AUSTIN.

Gold Nobles, and other Coins, found in Glastonbury; Bronze Figure of the Saviour, from a crucifix, found in the wall of a house at Pylle; Warrants by Lord Feversham, for men, horses, and supplies, previous to the battle of Sedgemoor, by Mrs. ROCKE.

A fine collection of antique Glastonbury Seals, by Lady HOOD, Mrs. AUSTIN, Mr. J. A. PORCH, Mr. WRIGHT, and the CHURCHWARDENS OF ST. JOHN'S.

Silver-gilt Salt, 1606, and other early Plate, by Mr. R. NEVILLE GRENVILLE.

Roman Coins, found in the Turbary at Shapwick, by Mr. WARRY.

Old Map of Somerset, 1630; Marriage Settlement between Sir Wm. Bassett and Elizabeth Franceis, dated 12th Chas. II, by Mr. WM. GEORGE.

Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth, granting to the Earl of Leicester the Manor of Middlezoy (dated at Gorhambury, 8th March, 10th year of her reign), with all appurtenances, including "flotsam et blotsam mares," &c., by Mr. R. K. MEADE-KING.

Several old Grants to the Wardens of St. John's Church, Glastonbury; and Leases, from 1301, by the CHURCHWARDENS.

Bronze Sword and Celts, found in the turbaries; pair of Stirrups, found in Sedgemoor, and various antiquities found in the Abbey grounds, consisting of Spoons, Glass, Rings, &c., by Mr. J. A. PORCH.

Leaden Bulla of Pope Clement VI, found on the site of St. John's Hospital at Wells; Leaden Bulla of Pope Gregory XII, found in the garden of one of the Canons' houses at Wells; several ancient Manuscripts and old Newspapers, by Mr. T. SEREL.

Flint Implements and fragments of Pottery, from the Tor Hill; Encaustic Tiles and Painted Glass, from St. Michael's, Tor Hill; and Roll of the Mayors, Recorders, and Town Clerks of Glastonbury, by Mr. BULLEID.

Sword by Andria Varara, dug up about 1840, in a field adjoining Nunney Castle; Saxon Coins found at Wedmore, and Roman Coins found at Banwell, Wookey, and other places, by Mr. E. B. SLY.

A Vindication of Stone Heng Restored, by John Webb of Butleigh, 1665, by Mr. NEVILLE GRENVILLE.

History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, with an Account of the Mineral Waters and the Glastonbury Thorn, 1807, by Mr. IMPEY.

Living specimens of some of the rarer Plants of the turf moors in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, some now almost extinct, by Mr. JNO. MORLAND.

The Library.

ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME :

The Archæological Journal.

Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

The Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers.

Report of the Smithsonian Institution.

Proceedings of the Bristol Naturalists' Society.

Proceedings of the Geologists' Association.

Montgomeryshire Collections.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine.

Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, part xvi., and On a Bastion of Old London Wall.

Annual Report and Transactions of the Plymouth Institute.

Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Transactions of the Watford Natural History Society.

Surrey Archæological Collections.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History, vol. 5, no. 2.

Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. 4, no. 3.

Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

Memoirs, vol. 26, and Proceedings, vols. 16, 17, 18, 19, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

Journal of the Society for the Promotion of Natural Sciences, Vienna, nos. 19, 20.

Archæologia Cantiana, vol. 13.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, no. 134.

Eleventh Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey, 1877.

Milner's *History of Winchester*, 2 vols.; *The Telegraph Newspaper*, Aug. 11th, 1796; *The Morning Post Gazetteer*, May 8, 1799; an old Print representing the German Parliament; Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*; *Itineraire de Rome*, 2 vols.; Johnston's *Dictionary*; by Mr. SURTEES.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. 7, part iii., by Mr. C. ROACH SMITH.

On some evidences of the occupation of the Ancient Site of Taunton by the Britons; *The Briton and the Roman on the Site of Taunton*; Reprint of *A Chronological Register of Events relating to the town of Taunton*; by the author, Dr. PRING.

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, parts vi. x. xi., by the Rev. B. H. BLACKER.

Transcript of a Compotus Roll of the Receipts of Glastonbury Abbey, 1515, by the Rev. Canon BINGHAM.

Dr. Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary*, 3 vols., and a photograph from the bust of Dr. Norris in the Shire Hall, Taunton, by Dr. PRING.

The Mineralogists' Directory, by Mr. TOWNSEND M. HALL.

The Fall of Nineveh, 2 vols.; *Israel in Egypt*, 1 vol.; *The Handwriting on the Wall*, 3 vols.; *Poems*, 1 vol.; *The Sea Kings in England*, 3 vols.; *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1st and 2nd editions, by the late Edwin Atherstone; about 80 volumes of books, and three cases of Manuscripts; by Miss M. E. ATHERSTONE.

The Ferns of the Axe, by Mr. F. MITCHELL.

Eothen, by the author, Mr. KINGLAKE.

Photograph of Gundulph's Keep, near Malling, Kent, by Mr. F. R. SURTEES.

Tom Balch: a tale of West Somerset during Monmouth's Rebellion, by the author, Mr. GEO. PARKER.

Ypriana: Notices, Etudes, Notes et Documents sur Ypres, 4 vols.; *Essai de Numismatique Yproise*; by the author, ALPH. VANDENPEEREBOOM.

A paper *On Abnormal Geological Deposits in the Bristol District*, by Mr. CHAS. MOORE.

The Boot and Shoemaker's Assistant, by Mr. HAMMOND.

A compleat History of Somersetshire, Sherborne, 1742, and *An Accurate Naval History of England*, printed at the same place (purchased).

Gentleman's Magazine, 81 volumes, 1796 to 1835; *Somerset Archæological Proceedings*, 25 vols.; *Carthage and her Remains; Recovery of Jerusalem*; Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*; Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*; Barth's *Central Africa*, 5 vols.; some numbers of the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*; O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*; *Army and Navy Lists*; by the Misses HARRISON.

Some Account of the Oldest Plans of Bristol, by Mr. GEORGE.

Report and Proceedings of the Manchester Scientific Students' Association, 1880.

Transactions of the Berkshire Archæological and Architectural Society.

Proceedings of the Norwich Geological Society.

The Ancient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon, by the author, Mr. W. H. H. ROGERS.

Ellacombe's *History of Bitton*, by Mr. C. J. SIMMONS.

Caer Pensaulcoit: a Re-assertion, by the author, Mr. KERSLAKE.

Somerset County Gazette, by the Proprietor (filed).

THE SEREL COLLECTION OF SOMERSET PAPERS, consisting of about 100 volumes of Manuscripts and printed Books, original Documents, and Papers relating to the County (purchased by subscription).

The Museum.

ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME :

Boomerang, Waddy, and Club, from the Loddon tribe, Victoria, Australia, by Mrs. COLES.

An Inkstand of Delft ware, marked "I.L., 1674," and a Greek Vase, by Mr. A. MAYNARD.

A Shield, two Waddys, and a Club, from Australia, by Mr. FISHER.

Sixpence of Elizabeth, and a Nuremburg Token, found in Billet Street, Taunton, by Mr. DAVIS.

A Bristol Delft Plate; Egyptian Sepulchral Figure, brought from Egypt by the Rev. Bernard Hembury, Chaplain to the Duke of Sussex, and given to Col. Tynte, sen., whose daughter, Mrs. Kemmis, gave it to Mr. Surtees; by Mr. SURTEES.

A large Oil Painting, "Bathsheba," by Mr. J. A. PORCH.

Some Coal Fossils, and a specimen of the *Euplectella aspergillum*, by Mrs. MUNRO.

Cup, with views of Taunton, by Mr. W. MAYNARD.

One Franc Note of the Commune of Paris, November, 1871, by Mr. S. W. NORMAN.

Specimens of Fish remains, from the Old Red Sandstone, Portishead, by Mr. TOWNSEND M. HALL.

Malay Matchlock and Pike, by Mr. H. BRIDGES.

White varieties of the Red Grouse and Swallow, by Mr. MARSHALL.

Lamp, from Herculaneum; engraved Gourd, from South Africa; Tortoise, from Cape Colony; carved Snuff-box; some Coins; four framed Proof Engravings, by John Martin, and two mahogany Arm Chairs; by Miss ATHERSTONE.

Rubbing of brass of Andrew Luttrell, Knt., 1390, in Irnham Church, Lincolnshire; Encaustic Tile from the ruined Church

of St. John in the Wilderness, near Exmouth; portions of Mosaic Pavement, from the tomb of Mausolus, at Budroum; by Mr. G. TROYTE BULLOCK.

A specimen of 15th century Nuremburg Ware, *purchased*.

Encaustic Tile from Stoodleigh Church, Devon, by Mr. CRAWFORD.

Two Dresden China Plates; an African Toga, brought by the late Admiral Allen from the river Niger; by Miss DEACON.

Some human remains, discovered in a tumulus at Butcombe, 1830, by the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.

Thirty-two Saxon Coins, struck at mints in Somerset, a list of which will be found p. 87, part i., by Mr. J. MARSHALL.

A piece of Crock Street Pottery, dated 1718; and a pair of Pattens, from Jerusalem; by Mrs. COSSINS.

A piece of earthenware, "Three Merry Boys, 1697," by Mrs. STOODLEY.

Calabashes, Mats, Sandals, and Tom-tom, from the river Congo, Western Africa, by Mrs. SHIELD.

Antique Lock, by Mr. GOODMAN.

Recent Sandstone, enclosing Turtles' Eggs, Obsidian, and a Tern, from Ascension; Skull of Viscacha, from South America; Bird Skins and Fish, from West Coast of Africa; by Lieut. W. H. M. DANIELL, R.N.

Some ornamental Plaster Work, from an old house at Wilton, by Mr. NASH.

An African Water-bottle and Axe, by the Misses HARRISON.

A pair of Rollers and a pair of Hoopoes, in cases, by Mr. JAS. TURNER.

Head of an old Cross, found at Charlton Horethorne, and another, found at Tellisford, by Mr. C. POOLEY.

Portions of two Quern Stones, and some Roman Pottery, found at Tickenham Hill, near Clevedon, by Mr. LEE.

A piece of Clevedon Ware, by Mr. E. H. ELTON.

An old Bronze Key, by Mr. BROWN.

An Indian Bow, by Mr. GODDARD.

A Greenstone Adze, from New Zealand, mounted by H. Kupa, by Mr. CULLEN.

Rubbing of slab in Backwell Church to Lady Elizabeth Chaworth, by Mr. R. W. PAUL.

Roman remains found at North Perrott Manor, by Mr. HOSKINS.

Greensand Fossils, from the Blackdowns, by Mr. C. H. FOX.

A fine specimen of the White-tailed Eagle, shot at Stolford, January, 1857—by Miss BAILEY.

DEPOSITED:

Two Bronze Celts and a Bronze Sword, found in the Turbaries; Bronze Serpent Ring, found at Stanton Drew; eight Rings, found in the Abbey grounds at Glastonbury; pair of Brass Stirrups, found in Sedgemoor; 13 old Swords; Leather Bottle, found at Glastonbury; two Teeth of *Elephas primigenius*, found in the Mendips; Ammonite and Nautilus, from Lyme Regis; by Mr. J. A. PORCH.

Two Chelsea China Figures, by Mr. T. J. SHEPHERD.

Conversazione Meetings.

April 4th, 1881.

Rev. H. G. TOMKINS, "On King Alfred."

April 25th, 1881.

Rev. G. O. L. THOMPSON, "Was Perkin Warbeck an Impostor?"

Mr. E. CHISHOLM-BATTEN, "On the Holy Thorn of Glastonbury."

List of Somersetshire Coins.

PRESENTED BY MR. MARSHALL.

IT having been thought desirable that a detailed list of the very valuable collection of silver coins, struck at mints in Somersetshire, presented to the Society's Museum by Mr. Marshall, of Belmont, Taunton, should be recorded in the Society's *Proceedings*, the following catalogue has been compiled, partly from the descriptions given by Mr. Webster, of 26, Bedford Square, London. It should be observed that two hitherto unknown mints, Athelney and Congresbury, are included in the list. With regard to Congresbury it will be found that the same moneyer, Elfwine, also struck coins at other Somerset towns, viz., *Bruton*, under Canute and Edward the Confessor; and *Ilchester*, under Canute, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II. The same name, with a slight variation of spelling, also occurs at the *Taunton* mint under William I and William II.

ÆTHELSTAN.

Langport.

1. *Obv.* ✠ ÆÐ·EL·STAN REX To·BRI.

Inner circle with small cross in the field.

- Rev.* ✠ BYRHTELM·M·o LANLPORȚ.

Inner circle with small cross in the field.

EADGAR.

Ilchester.

2. *Obv.* ✠ EADLAR REX TO B.

Inner circle with seven pellets in the field.

- Rev.* ✠ DEORVLF INTO LIPE.

Inner circle with seven pellets in the field.

ÆTHELRED II.

Bath.

3. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEL RÆD REX ANLLO.¹
Filletted head to right, with sceptre within inner circle.
Rev. ✠ ÆDEL RIC M-O BAÐA.
Hand of Providence between A and ω, within inner circle.
4. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEL RÆD REX ANLLO.¹
Bareheaded bust to left, extending to lower edge.
Rev. ✠ EDSTAN M-Ω-O BAÐ.
Long cross, with pellet in centre, terminating in trefoils.
5. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDELRED REX ANLLO.¹
Bareheaded bust to left, a sceptre with three pellets at the end, within inner circle.
Rev. ✠ ꝥYNSTAN M-O BAÐ.
Short cross with pellet in centre, ERVX in the angles, within inner circle.

Cadbury.

6. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDELRED REX ANLLO.¹
Filletted head, bust to left, within inner circle.
Rev. ✠ ꝥVL FELM ON CADANBY:
Inner circle, with small cross in the field.

Watchet.

7. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEL RÆD REX ANLLO.
Bareheaded bust to left, extending to lower edge.
Rev. ✠ HVNE ꝥINE M-O ꝥEED.
Long cross, with pellet in centre, terminating in trefoils.
8. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEL RÆD REX ANLLO.
Same as No. 7.
Rev. ✠ HVNE ꝥINE MO ꝥEED.
Same as No. 7.
9. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEL RÆD REX ANLLO.¹
Bareheaded bust to left, a sceptre with three pellets at the end, within inner circle.
Rev. ✠ SILERIC M-O ꝥEED.
Short cross, with pellet in centre, ERVX in the angles, within inner circle.
10. *Obv.* ✠ ÆDEƆRED REX ANLLO.¹
Filletted head, bust to right, sceptre, with three pellets at the end, within inner circle.
Rev. ✠ SILERIC M-O ꝥEED.
Hand of Providence between A and ω within inner circle.

(1). A character follows the O which is sometimes described as X and RV, but seems intended for a contraction of RVM.

CNVT.

Bath.

11. *Obv.* † CNVT REX ANLLORV.

Crowned bust to left, within tressure of four curves.

- Rev.* † AL·FƿALD ON BƿD.

Long cross, with pellet in centre, terminating in trefoils, dividing a tressure of four curves.

12. *Obv.* † CNVT REX ANLLORVM.

Same as No. 11.

- Rev.* † ÆÐELRIC · ON BƿÐA.

Same as No. 11.

13. *Obv.* † CNVT REX ANLLORVM.

Same as No. 11.

- Rev.* † ÆÐEXTAN ON B·ƿÐAN.

Same as No. 11.

14. *Obv.* † CNVT REX ANLLORV:

Same as No. 11.

- Rev.* † EDSTA ON BƿIA.

Same as No. 11.

Taunton.

15. *Obv.* † CNVT REX ANLLORV.

Same as No. 11.

- Rev.* † EDRIC O TANTV.

Same as No. 11.

HAROLD I.

Ilchester.

16. *Obv.* † HAROLD REX.²

Helmeted bust in armour to left, extending to lower edge, with lily sceptre.

- Rev.* † LODDRIC O:N LIF.

Long cross, with a panel in the centre enclosing a pellet, a fleur-de-lis issuing from each angle.

(2). The first known penny of this king struck at this mint.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.*Athelney.*

17. *Obv.* ✠ EDƿERD RE. Half-penny.
 Helmeted bust to left, extending to lower edge.

Rev. ✠ ESTMVND AÐE.
 Short cross, with pellet in centre.

Bath.

18. *Obv.* ✠ EDƿERD REX.
 Helmeted bust to left, extending to lower edge, with
 sceptre terminating in three pellets.

Rev. ✠ EELEMER ON BAÐ.
 Long cross, arms terminating in crescents, annulet in
 centre, PACX in angles.

19. *Obv.* EADƿARRD RE.
 Bearded and crowned bust to right, extending to lower
 edge, with sceptre terminating in four pellets.

Rev. ✠ LOÐRIC ON BADEN.
 Short cross, with pellet in centre, each arm terminating in
 an incurved segment of a circle with a pellet at each end.

20. *Obv.* ✠ EADVVEARDVS REX ANLLO.
 King seated in chair, looking to right, crowned, holding
 sceptre and orb.

Rev. ✠ OSMÆR ON BAÐ.
 Short cross, with a martlet in each angle, within inner circle.

21. *Obv.* ✠ EDƿERD R. Half-penny.
 Helmeted bust to left, extending to lower edge.

Rev. ✠ VLCATEL ON B.
 Short cross, with pellet in centre.

Congresbury.

22. *Obv.* ✠ EDƿERD REX.
 Helmeted bust to left, extending to lower edge, with
 sceptre terminating in a single pellet.

Rev. ✠ ELFƿINE ON CONCR.
 Short cross within inner circle, three pellets in each angle
 connected by lines, enclosing a pellet in the centre.

Taunton.

23. *Obv.* ✠ EDƿERD RE: Half-penny.
 Helmeted bust to left, extending to lower edge.
- Rev.* ✠ BOCA ON TANT ∴
 Short cross, with pellet in centre.
24. *Obv.* ✠ EADƿARRD RE.
 Crowned and bearded bust to the right, extending to lower edge, with sceptre terminating in four pellets.
- Rev.* ✠ BRIHRIC ON TANT.
 Short cross with pellet in centre, each limb terminating in a segment of a circle, with pellets at the ends.

HAROLD II.

Ilchester.

25. *Obv.* ✠ HAROLD REX ANGL.
 Long-necked bust to the left, bearded, with crown of two arches, a sceptre with three knobs at end.
- Rev.* ✠ ÆGLPINE ON GIFELI.
 Inner circle containing PAX between two dotted lines across the field.

Taunton.

26. *Obv.* ✠ HAROLD REX ANGL.
 Same as No. 25.
- Rev.* ✠ BRIHTRIC ON TAN.
 Same as No. 25.

WILLIAM I.

Bath.

27. *Obv.* ✠ ƿLLELM REX.
 Full-faced bust, crowned, holding a cross-surmounted sceptre in right hand over left shoulder.
- Rev.* ✠ IEGLMIE ON BAÐN.
 Cross potent within inner circle, annulets enclosing PAXS in the four angles.

Crewkerne.

28. *Obv.* ✠ ƿILLELM REX.
 Full-faced bust, crowned, holding sword over right shoulder.
- Rev.* ✠ EDOVF ON CRVE.
 Tressure of four curves, enclosing a cross potent, within inner circle.

Taunton.

- 29.
- Obv.*
- ✠
- ƿILLELM REX.*

Crowned bust to the right, with lily sceptre.

- Rev.*
- ✠
- IELƿINE ON TAN.*

Cross potent within inner circle, annulets enclosing PAXS in the four angles.

- 30.
- Obv.*
- ✠
- ƿILLELM REX.*

Same as No. 27.

- Rev.*
- ✠
- IELƿINE ON TAN.*

Same as No. 29.

*WILLIAM II.**Taunton.*

- 31.
- Obv.*
- ✠
- ƿILLEM REX ANI.*

Full-faced bust, crowned, between two stars, within inner circle.

- Rev.*
- ✠
- IELƿINE ON TANV.*

Cross, each arm proceeding from an annulet in the centre and terminating in three pellets, over a quadrilateral figure with incurved sides, within inner circle.

*HENRY III.**Ilchester.*

- 32.
- Obv.*
- *
- ƢENRICVS REX·III'.*

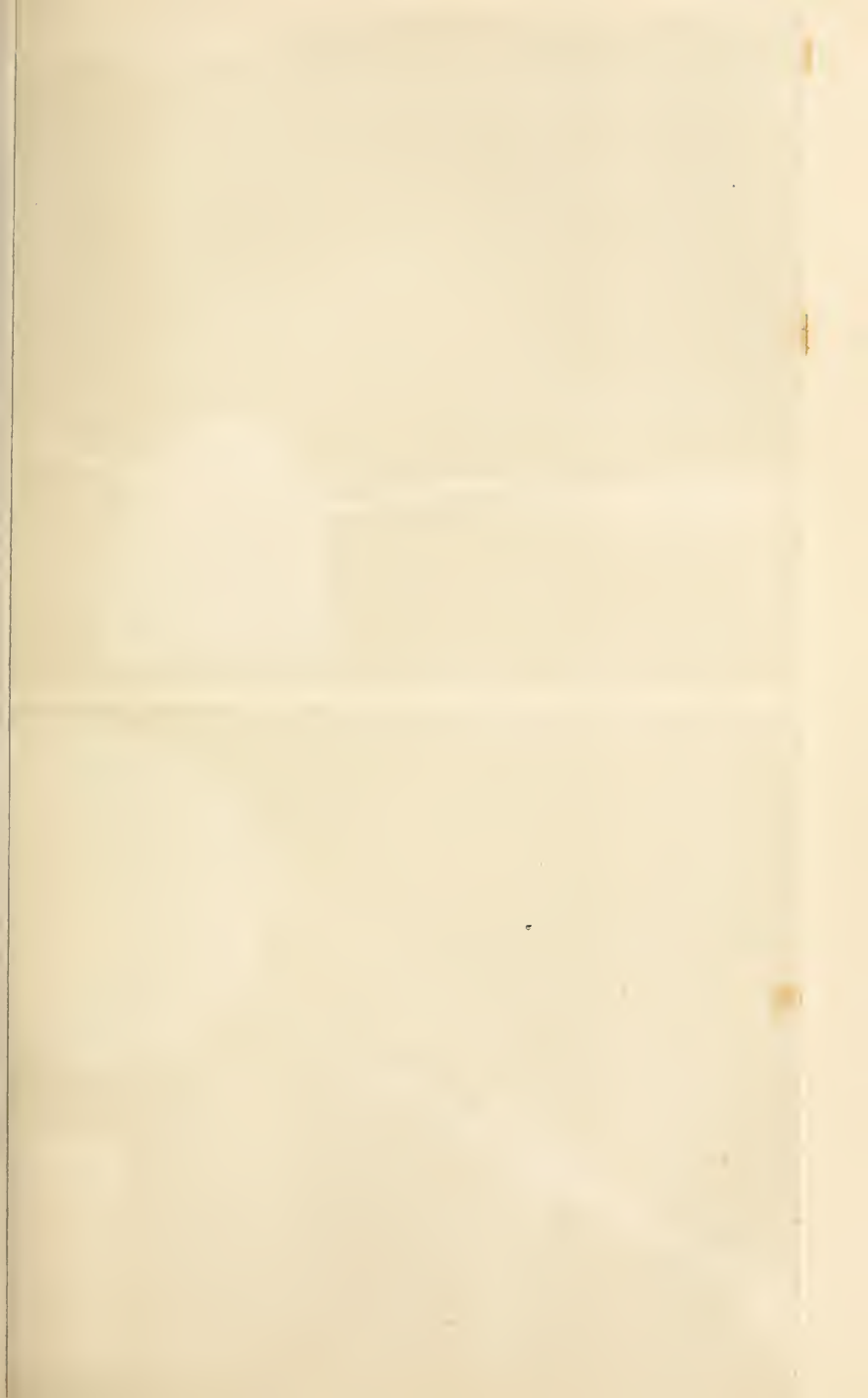
Full-faced head, bearded and crowned, within dotted circle.

- Rev.*
- STEPƢE ON IVEL.*

Long cross, with pellet in centre, dividing an inner circle of dots, with three pellets in each angle.

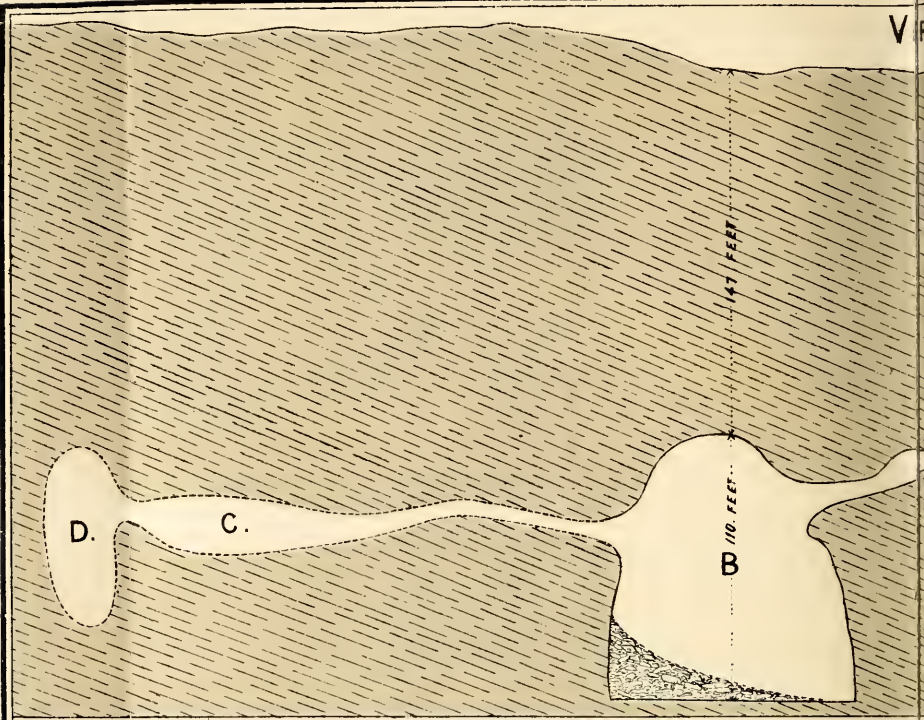
WM. BIDGOOD.





THE LAMB BOTTOM CAVERN

V



GROUND PLAN.

Scale.

35 FEET TO 1 INCH.



A.
B.
C.
D.

INS AT HARPTREE, SOMERSET

VERTICAL SECTION.



Proceedings
of the
Somersetshire Archæological and
Natural History Society,
1880, *Part II.*

PAPERS, ETC.

On the Lamb Bottom Caverns at Garpree, Somerset.

BY J. MC MURTRIE.

OF the many interesting subjects which the pursuit of geology opens out to us, there is perhaps none which possesses so great a charm for the ordinary student as the caves which abound along our coast lines, and amongst the principal mountain ranges of this country. The investigations of the geologist, ordinarily carried on in the clear light of day, are there extended far into the bowels of the earth, and the more difficult and inaccessible the exploration, the greater the romance by which it is surrounded. The physical structure of the caves themselves, the strata through which they pass, the agencies by which they have been formed, the stalactites which adorn their roofs, and the stalagmites which cover the floor, often embedding as they do the remains of whole races of animals which have long since passed away,—all these command our thoughtful attention, opening out a wide field for scientific inquiry.

The examples we possess in this country appear to be far less extensive than others of which we read in other parts of the world. Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, tells us that in the limestones of Kentucky, in the basin of the Green River, one of the tributaries of the Ohio, a line of underground cavities has been traced in one direction for a distance of 10 miles without any termination, one of the chambers being no less than ten acres in area and 150 feet high. Nothing hitherto discovered in our own country can at all compare with this; but amongst the ranges of Mountain Limestone which prevail in many parts of England, caves of considerable extent and great interest are frequently met with, and no where can they be seen to greater advantage than in the Mendip Hills in this county. The caves of Wookey, Cheddar, and Banwell possess almost a world-wide reputation, and are so familiar to all that nothing need be said on the subject here; but an important discovery was made in the month of June last, at Harptree in this division of the county, of a cavern, or more properly a series of caverns, which are new at all events to the present generation, and it has been thought a fitting opportunity to bring them under the notice of this Society.

THE LOCALITY IN WHICH THE CAVES OCCUR.

To those who may not be familiar with the northern flank of the Mendips, it may be explained that along the base of that range of hills, from Litton to Yatton and Clevedon, there stretches a fertile valley, which receives and carries off the drainage of the adjacent country. Branching off southwards out of this valley, at frequent intervals, are numerous "combes" or ravines which stretch upwards towards the hills, and these in the rainy season become the beds of torrents which pour their waters into the valley below. One of the most romantic of these passes close to the village of East Harptree, and if the visitor will follow its windings upwards to where the valley loses itself amongst the hills, he will find

himself at Lamb Bottom, where the caves in question have been discovered.

There is nothing on the surface to indicate the remarkable natural phenomena which lie beneath, but there is much evidence of human industry in the débris of former mineral workings which abound in all directions, taking us back to a period of great antiquity. We are here in the heart of that mineral country once of so much importance as to possess a distinct code of laws of its own; and it might be worthy of the attention of this Society, to trace out more fully than has yet been done the history of this hill country, and of the people who once inhabited it. Passing by the Roman period, to which the Rev. Prebendary Scarth has devoted much time and research, we read that as early as the reign of King Edward the Fourth, "the occupacions of the Mynores in and upon the King's Majesty's Forest of Mendipp . hath been exercised . . from the tyme whereof man now living hath noe memorie," and from that time down to the close of the last century, the Mendips must have presented an appearance of busy life in marked contrast to the solitude which now prevails; but towards the beginning of the present century, either from dearth of mineral within easy depths, or from improved means of transport bringing into competition more favoured districts, the mining industry on the Mendips seems to have dwindled away, and the hardy race of miners who once flourished here has almost disappeared.

GEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE CAVES.

The caves are situated in the Mountain Limestone on the northern flank of the Mendips, where its beds attain a great thickness and outcrop on the surface, but a little to the south it is covered by a thin deposit of Lias and New Red Sandstone. One of the Ordnance sections runs through Lamb Bottom from north to south, and I am thus enabled to lay before you a diagram, shewing on a large scale the structure of the hills from the valley

at Compton Martin to the level country around Wells.¹ To those who are acquainted with the geology of the district, I need hardly explain that the Mendip range is a good example of the true anticlinal form so familiar to geologists, but a reference to the diagrams will show you that local complications exist on this part of the hills. Instead of one continuous outcrop of the Old Red Sandstone along the centre, with the Mountain Limestone dipping uniformly north and south from it, as we find between Whatley and Masbury, the Old Red here makes its appearance only in isolated ridges, which cross the hills at an acute angle. The effect of this has been to destroy the typical anticlinal structure, the Mountain Limestone having been thrown into a series of folds with synclinal valleys, some of which the ordnance surveyors have endeavoured to show in the section now before you. Lamb Bottom would appear to be in the interval between the Old Red Sandstone elevation of North Hill, near Priddy, and the more extended ridge of the same formation at Black Down, so that while the prevailing inclination of the Limestone is northwards, passing beneath the Coal measures, there are subordinate to this local dips in all directions. The caves in question occupy therefore much the same position on the north side of the hills as the Cheddar gorge and caves do to the south of it, which may, or may not, have something to do with their origin.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

Although these caves are new to the present generation, the original discovery of them is of considerable antiquity. The earliest account of them, of which we have any record, is contained in *The Philosophical Transactions and Collections to the end of the year 1700* (page 369), by a Mr. Beaumont, who is said to have visited the caves about the year 1660. Mr. Beaumont says:—"The most considerable of these vaults I have known on Mendip Hills is on the most northerly part of them, in a hill called Lamb, lying above the parish of Harp-

(1). See Ordnance section, sheet No. 17.

tree. Much ore has been formerly raised on this hill, and being told some years since that a very great vault was there discovered, I took six miners with me and went to see it. First we descended a perpendicular shaft about 10 fathoms, then we came into a leading vault, which extends itself in length about 40 fathoms; it runs not upon a level but descending, so that when you come to the end of it, you are 23 fathoms deep, by a perpendicular line. The floor of it is full of loose rocks; its roof is firmly vaulted with Limestone rocks, having flowers of all colours hanging from them, which present a most beautiful object to the eye, being always kept moist by the distilling waters. In some parts the roof is about 5 fathoms in height, in others so low that a man has much ado to pass by creeping. The wideness of it for the most part is about 3 fathoms. This cavern crosses many veins of ore in its running, and much ore has been thence raised. About the middle of this cavern on the east side lies a narrow passage into another cavern, which runs betwixt 40 and 50 fathoms in length. At the end of the first cavern a vast cavern opens itself. I fastened a cord about me and ordered the miners to let me down, and upon the descent of 12 or 14 fathoms I came to the bottom. This cavern is about 60 fathoms in circumference, about 20 fathoms in height, and above 15 in length; it runs along after the raikes, and not crossing them as the leading vault does. I afterwards caused miners to drive forward in the breast of this cavern, which terminates it to the west, and after they had driven about 10 fathoms they happened into another cavern, whose roof is about 8 fathoms, and in some parts about 12 in height, and runs in length about 100 fathoms."

Subsequent writers have also referred to these caves, their information having probably been derived from the earlier account already given, which some have quoted rather inaccurately. In Collinson's *History of Somersetshire*, under the heading of East Harptree, and in Rutter's *Delineations of*

Somersetshire, at page 192, they are briefly described, the account given by the latter being very imperfect.

In Buckland and Conybeare's *Observations on the South Western Coal district of England*, published in the transactions of the Geological Society in 1824, the authors briefly state that "in Lamb Bottom is a cavern mentioned by many writers. It is not now open, but appears from a description of it given in Maton's *Western Tour* (vol. ii. page 132) to be rather an old mine than a natural cave." Neither of these writers, however, can have seen the caves, and the opinion here expressed is entirely erroneous.

HOW THE CAVES WERE DISCOVERED.

There can be little doubt that the original, like the recent discovery of these caves, occurred in the course of mining operations, no natural entrance having yet been traced. The locality now called "Lamb Bottom" appears to have been known in the 16th century, as "Lambden," or "Lambden on Mendip," and mining was carried on there at a very early date. It is frequently mentioned in the local court rolls; and the records preserved at the Public Record Office contain a historical incident which deserves a passing notice. It would appear that in the 20th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one "Thomas Windesor" having been attainted of treason, an inquisition was held at Shepton Mallet to ascertain what lead mines at Lambden on Mendip the said Thomas Windesor claimed to have. The depositions then taken proved that Windesor held shares in a number of "gruffs," or mines, in and around Lambden, and that in particular he held three sixteenth parts in the mine called the "hard gruff," which shares were subsequently forfeited to the Crown.

In the course of these early mining operations the caves in question were doubtless met with; but with the close of the active period of mining, the shafts which formed their only access must have got closed, and they appear to have been lost sight of for several generations. Within the last few

years, however, the enclosure in question, together with a large adjoining territory, has been taken by Col. Bolton and Mr. T. J. Bewick of London, who have been carrying on important explorations which it is hoped may lead to the revival of a long lost industry, and believing these caves would throw light on the object of their research they determined to find them. Omitting details, which have already appeared elsewhere, we may state briefly that with the aid of Captain Nichols, the mineral agent, their efforts were crowned with success, and in the month of June last they had the gratification of rediscovering the caves which had not been entered for nearly a century.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVES.

Having heard of these caves through a brief notice in a local paper, the writer has had the advantage of visiting them on two occasions, first with the Bath Field Club, with Rev. H. H. Winwood, and afterwards, with more time available, to obtain material for the present paper. To those whose acquaintance with caves has been derived from places of popular resort, where all rough places have been made smooth, this may appear easy enough, but such persons can form little idea of the difficulty and adventure attending the earlier exploration of such a cave as this. It has all the freshness however of a new discovery, and brings its own reward in the advantage of seeing every thing in a perfect state of nature, which show places can never possess.

In order to convey a clear idea of these remarkable caverns, diagrams have been prepared from actual survey, including a ground plan and vertical section, to which I would now direct your attention.² The approach to them is by means of a perpendicular shaft, about 2 feet square and 55 feet in depth, which the explorer requires to descend by a series of ladders fastened to the shaft side, or by bucket and windlass as may be preferred. On reaching the bottom a narrow passage leads

(2). See Diagrams.

away through the "old men's" workings, sloping gently at first, then more abruptly, the "cheeks" of the vein getting gradually closer together until it is difficult to force a passage through, and at a distance of 20 yards a short ladder leads into the first part of the cave. Up to this point there can be no question that the path traversed has been formed by the hand of man, but the explorer can have equally little doubt, when he reaches the foot of the ladder, that he has entered the domain of nature.

The present shaft may not be exactly the same as that by which Mr. Beaumont descended. In the opinion of Mr. Nichols, the original approach was probably more direct, by a shaft now partially visible immediately above the short ladder last described; but in any case Mr. Beaumont must have entered the cave itself at the same point we now do, for his description afterwards agrees exactly. Although at first sight we appear to have entered the extreme point of the cave, a closer examination discovers a narrow passage so choked with rubbish as to be inaccessible, but which if cleared out may lead to further discoveries. There are also one or two small lodes here, the mineral from which has been extracted, but these are easily distinguishable from the windings of the cave itself.

Proceeding onwards in a downward direction, we traverse a vaulted passage with Gothic roof fretted with stalactite, the floor being either covered with stalagnite or soft brown mud. Near this point two other lodes have evidently crossed the cave, and a portion of the débris from them lies piled upon the floor; but the old miners must have had a kindly regard for these caves, which we in our generation do not always possess, for it is surprising how little injury has been done in the course of mineral workings, which seem to have intersected them at numerous points. Before going far we turn sharply round to the right, and should notice the smoothness with which the walls of the cave have been rounded off, as if

by the action of water, although other agencies may also have been at work. A good opportunity is here afforded of examining the roof, in which I was curious to ascertain whether any crevice or slip existed which might throw light on the original formation of the caves, but for the most part I saw no trace of these.

The cave now gradually widens out and increases in height as we approach the point *A* on the diagram, where we find ourselves in what is certainly the most beautiful, although not the largest, of the series of caverns I am endeavouring to describe. It is tortuous and irregular in shape, so that it is not all visible from any one stand-point; but from where it widens out as we approach, to where it again diminishes into a narrow passage, it measures about 100 feet in length, and in the centre it attains a height of over 30 feet. While the principal chamber here curves gently round to the left, another branch of the cave strikes off to the right, so that this forms a centre from which three passages radiate, and exactly at the point of junction the floor is completely blocked by a stalagmite of gigantic dimensions—so exactly resembling a bee-hive, that it has given that name to the chamber in which it occurs.

It is probable this may have been formed upon a groundwork of fallen blocks of Limestone, but these have been so cemented together, and so completely coated with a covering of stalagmite, as to form a perfect cone, which strikes the eye of the visitor who approaches it for the first time. Standing on the summit of this cone, and casting his eye around upon the scene which here presents itself, no one can fail to be impressed with its wondrous beauty. From pointed roof to polished floor the walls are draped and bossed, and grotesquely ornamented with stalactites in endless variety of form and colour, and when illuminated by a strong artificial light the effect is dazzling beyond description.

It may be remarked that although the path by which we have approached has been steadily downwards, and is sug-

gestive of some brawling underground torrent, no water is now visible beyond an occasional dropping from the roof; so that if this ever formed a water channel its supply must have been intercepted and turned in some other direction. I examined the floor of this cavern very carefully, and generally found beneath a layer of stalagmite a thin bed of reddish-brown earth lying on the Limestone; but in order to show the structure of the floor with any exactness, it would be necessary to cut sections across it at a few points, which would require both time and labour. In no case was any trace of tooth or bone detected, the only fossils observed being a few stems of encrinite; but when it is remembered that the exploration of Kent's Hole, and other caves, has been the work of years, it would be idle to speak with any confidence of the result of two short visits.

Turning to the right out of the Bee-hive Cavern at *A*, we now enter a different branch of the cave, which is for the most part more narrow and tortuous than that we have hitherto traversed. The inclination is still inwards, and at first the passage is fairly lofty, but we soon come to a contracted part through which it is scarcely possible to crawl. Once through this, the opening becomes larger again, and in proceeding inwards the floor is found to be covered with a layer of the soft red earth or clay already described, which points to a considerable flow of water through this channel at some former time. The deposit is deepest in the middle, being rounded in the centre like a well formed road. At a distance of 60 yards from the Bee-hive Cavern, this passage terminates in a small cross chamber of some little height, the floor of which is five or six feet deeper than the passage by which it is approached.

It is obvious that some crevice must exist here for carrying off the water, but the floor is covered with mud and débris, and nothing else is visible. In one corner of the chamber there is a vein of ore, which has formerly been worked. In returning

to the Bee-hive Cavern I examined the roof at many points, and could trace a thin joint running upwards at certain places, but nothing else was visible, except its Gothic form, and the stalactites which more or less adorned its walls.

From the Bee-hive Cavern the path leads steeply down to the left, and so completely does this great stalactite fill up the floor, that there is little room to pass on either side, care being required in climbing past it to prevent an awkward slip on the smooth floor. The cavern soon diminishes to a mere passage, and at one point becomes so contracted as only to leave room to crawl; but it enlarges again, and becomes very steep as it enters the great cave at *B*.

This gigantic cavern, which is probably unrivalled in this or any other part of England, is rudely circular in form, and about 100 feet in its greatest diameter. It is dome-like in shape, and, approaching it as from an elevated gallery, the visitor is struck with a feeling of awe and amazement as he looks down into its dark recesses, and upwards to its lofty roof, its rocky sides standing out in bold relief amid the surrounding gloom. From the gallery to the bottom of the cave is a depth of 77 feet; and the total height from the floor to the apex of the dome cannot be less than 110 feet. In all probability the cave was originally deeper than I have stated, for the floor is piled up with immense blocks of Limestone which have fallen from the roof; and this débris seems to have accumulated most on the opposite side to that by which we have approached, from which it slopes downwards beneath our feet, where the cave attains its greatest depth.

The descent, it must be confessed, is far from pleasant, differing little from that described so graphically by Beaumont 200 years ago. The explorer having put one leg through a loop in the rope, is made fast to it by a cord tied tightly under the arms, and, thus equipped, he is, with the help of five men, lowered over the precipice, the rope passing over a pulley fixed near to the edge—but not near enough to prevent it from

chafing uneasily on the projecting edge of the cave. He has to scramble over this edge as best he can, and, once past it, finds himself spinning round in mid-air, after the manner of a turnspit, without anything in reach to guide his downward course. On reaching the bottom he finds the irregular blocks of Limestone covered, for the most part, with stalagmite, which has cemented them into a firm mass; and where shallow pools of water exist, it seems to have crystallised into beautiful forms resembling coral. In other parts the floor is covered with a red, muddy sediment, and in one corner there is a considerable depth of *débris*, which has apparently come from the entrance to another cave, to be presently referred to. Much excavation would be required to prove of what the floor consists, but there are probably beneath the loose *débris* swallets or passages communicating with other water channels which drain these hills. At present the cave is comparatively dry, but it must be remembered this is an exceptionally dry season, and it will be interesting to find out what water flows there after heavy rainfalls.

The view of this immense cave, seen from below, when illuminated by a powerful light, is one never to be forgotten. The roof, although not so rich in stalactites as the smaller caves, is fretted over at intervals; and beneath the gallery by which the cavern is approached its sides are draped in heavy folds of stalactite, as we have seen ice accumulate under a waterfall in winter.

Clambering up over the muddy *débris* already referred to, and mounting a steep ladder placed at the top, one finds an entrance to a third large cave, referred to by Beaumont, which has only been fully explored within the past week. It is approached with difficulty by a very contracted passage, one part of which is evidently artificial, and is doubtless the driving done by Beaumont. The floor ascends—proving that this branch may at one time have delivered its drainage into the Great Cavern.

I have shown the levels approximately on the section by the dotted lines, but this part of the section does not profess the same degree of accuracy as the rest, which is from actual levellings. Proceeding onwards we enter an oblong cavern, about 65 feet in length, 10 feet in width, and of considerable height. In this instance there is every appearance that the cave has been formed in the line of a chasm in the rock, resembling a mineral lode; but its smooth unchiselled sides, and stalactite roof, prove it to be purely natural. Separated from it by a contracted neck at the inner end is an extension of the same cave, which the explorer must approach with caution, for he suddenly finds himself on the edge of a chasm, which, from the sound of stones thrown down, is probably 30 or 40 feet in depth, with a similar height over head, and 20 feet in width; but this has not yet been fully explored, and no further openings have been found in that direction.

PROBABLE ORIGIN.

Having described these caverns at some length, it only remains to consider their probable origin, and, unfortunately, this is a branch of the question on which I am able to throw the least amount of light. If the floors of the different chambers are ever excavated, and all their windings fully traced out, we may be in a better position to form an opinion; but at the best the origin of caves is attended with a good deal of mystery.

Sir Charles Lyell says, in his *Principles of Geology*:—"There are some caverns, especially in Limestone rocks, which, although usually if not always connected with rents, are nevertheless of such forms and dimensions, alternately expanding into spacious chambers, and then contracting into narrow passages, that it is difficult to conceive that they can owe their origin to the mere fracturing and displacement of solid masses;" and nowhere can these words be more literally true than in the example before us.

The same author, in his *Elements of Geology*, has so ably summarised the various theories on the formation of caves, that I cannot do better than quote the following passage:—“Each suit of caverns, and the passages by which they communicate the one with the other, afford memorials to the geologist of successive phases through which they must have passed. First there came a period when the carbonate of lime was carried out gradually by springs; secondly, an era when engulfed rivers or occasional floods swept organic and inorganic débris into the subterranean hollows previously formed; and thirdly, there were such changes in the configuration of the region as caused the engulfed rivers to be turned into new channels, and springs to be dried up. The quarrying away of large masses of Carboniferous and Devonian Limestones, near Liége, in Belgium, has afforded the geologist magnificent sections of some of these caverns; and the former communication of cavities in the interior of the rocks with the old surface of the country by means of vertical or oblique fissures, has been demonstrated in places where it would not otherwise have been suspected, so completely have the upper extremities of these fissures been concealed by superficial drift, while their lower ends, which extended into the roofs of the caves, are masked by stalactitic incrustations. The origin of the stalactite has been explained by the eminent chemist Liebig. Mould or humus, being acted on by moisture and air, evolves carbonic acid, which is dissolved by rain. The rain water, thus impregnated, permeates the porous Limestone, dissolves a portion of it, and afterwards, when the excess of carbonic acid evaporates in the caverns, parts with the calcareous matter, and forms stalactite. Even while caverns are still liable to be occasionally flooded such calcareous incrustations accumulate, but it is generally when they are no longer in the line of drainage that a solid floor of hard stalagmite is formed on the bottom.”

Following out the line of thought suggested by Lyell, let

us apply it to the case before us. There probably existed during the elevation of the compact Limestone of the Mendip range an extensive series of fissures, communicating with each other, and existing at first as fissures only, into which the drainage of this upland country emptied itself. There is abundant evidence of this on Mendip in the swallets which are met with in all directions, draining hollows which would otherwise be lakes; and where these swallets are overlaid by sand, gravel, or clay, we find their presence marked by funnel-shaped depressions, of which the Devil's Punch Bowl is a notable example. From these fissures the drainage found its way to the low country much as at present, only that the adjacent valleys not being so deep then as now, it had found its exit at higher levels; or it may have emptied into the sea, which, in certain geological periods, appears to have washed the base of the hills, possibly flowing up into these same fissures with the rise and fall of each tide. This constant action of water, carried on through successive ages in certain channels through which it naturally ran, and from which it occasionally dropped headlong into deeper channels—as in the Great Cavern at Lamb Bottom—this, aided by the dissolving action of carbonic acid, which Liebig has so well described, is sufficient to account for these cave phenomena, although we may be unable to trace out the special features of each individual case.

There is just one other theory which has occurred to me, and does not appear to have been noticed by others.

Where anticlinals have been formed, it is very common to find lodes or fissures which are wide at the surface, but in descending gradually wedge out. In the elevation of a compact mass, the outer rings naturally part asunder in the way described, and this is a common occurrence on the Mendips. Is it not possible that in synclinals, such as shown on the Ordnance section, the same thing may exist in a reversed form, the V shaped fissures being wider beneath, and thinning out upwards?

It is at least possible that *some* caves may be accounted for in this way.

How caves like Wookey and Banwell afterwards received the bone deposits, of which we have heard so much, it is unnecessary now to speak, neither teeth nor bones having been found in the caverns I have described. The excavation of the floor of the Great Cave, if ever undertaken, may yet reveal some hidden natural exit leading to the low country; but unless this should be found, bone deposits are not likely to be met with in the Lamb Caverns.

On some Flemish Weavers settled at Glastonbury,
A.D. 1551.

BY EMANUEL GREEN.

ALTHOUGH England has always been a great wool-producing country, in early times the coarser kinds of goods only were manufactured, the best wool being exported, chiefly to Flanders, and thence returned as the finest cloths. To improve our work, some Flemings were invited to settle here by Edward III, by whom, to protect the home trade, both the export of wool and the import of cloth were forbidden. But these settlers being aliens, and not belonging to any English guild, were designedly harassed, and so heavily taxed by the local authorities, that very little success attended their coming. Another attempt was made in the reign of Edward VI, by the Protector Duke of Somerset, who, on the dissolution of the monasteries, having received a grant of Glastonbury Abbey, and always studying how to be in favour with the poor, began to found there in 1551 a colony of weavers, chiefly Flemings—"outlandish, learned, and godly men." He appointed one Cornish, the keeper of the house in Worrall Park, to overlook and assist them, and had just advanced them a loan of £484 14s., when his attainder prevented him from further carrying out the plan. By agreement he had promised to provide them with houses and ground, and other relief towards their living.¹ Each family was to have four acres—enough for two kine—out of Ourwall Park, to be held for three lives—those of the husband, the wife, and one

(1). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiii. No. 71.

child. If there were no child the provision was to go to the next heir, who should be named by the survivor.² These covenants not being kept for the reason above stated, and the settlers being opposed somewhat by the natives, they soon fell into poverty, when Vallerand Pollan, their Superintendent, was obliged to petition the King for relief, showing that from their having neither houses nor necessary utensils they were in debt £131, and compelled to consume more than they could get, to live unproductively on the money the Duke had advanced them. Upon this the King took up the case, and through his Council sent a letter to Bishop Barlow, Sir John Paulet, Sir John St. Loo, Sir Thos. Dyer, and Alex. Popham, appointing them—five, four, or three of them—to examine into the matter, to “take order” for the proper completion of the settlement.³

At this time there had arrived thirty-four families and six widows, spinsters; the widows, being supposed capable of living three in a house, were treated as two families. Ten other families arrived soon afterwards, thus making the total forty-six. For all these six houses only were ready; twenty-two others, it was reported, could be made habitable with cost, but at the time they had neither roofs, doors, nor windows. Sixteen more were necessary, and towards these there were “certain void rooms where houses had been,” some walls yet standing where “divers could be made” within the late monastery, which would help to lessen the charge of building. There were also reported, as available, some steps of stone and timber in the late Abbey, “save such as may be preserved from further spoil.”⁴ The Commissioners, however, “stayed” the use of these until the pleasure of the Council could be known, reporting that they found the strangers very godly, honest, poor folk, of quiet and sober conversation, and showing themselves ever willing and ready to instruct and teach young

(2). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 13.

(3). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiii. No. 74.

(4). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 2.

children and others their craft and occupations. They judged, therefore, that the settlement was likely to bring "great commodity to the commonweal" of those parts.⁵

The building operations were at once commenced, but not being pursued with a "diligent and skilled oversight," one Robert Hiet, of Street, was joined with the Superintendent Pollan, to see it better done, and to "compound" with any who would sell a lease; whilst Sir Ralph Hopton, surveyor of the place, was to see that any houses becoming void should be appointed to the strangers. For the houses ready the old rent was to be paid, and for those made ready after Easter, rent was offered from "the next half-year after they should be ready." The park of Worrall ("Our Wall," as Pollan, in his petition, calls it; "O'rwall," as one of the Council writes it⁶),—consisting of about 200 acres, of which sixty were great wood of no use as pasture, the rest, part wood, and part good pasture and low meadow—was found not sufficient to carry two kine to each family; the herbage was therefore given in common, as no other land could be had, and the division left to the Superintendent and the settlers themselves, the rental being £10 per annum, beginning at Michaelmas. Mr. Cornish was "discharged of the said park and all other things within the Abbey that would serve for the usage of the said strangers," and the 140 deer within it were to be bestowed elsewhere. But Mr. Cornish, who had proved "deceitful and false," and had "dealt ill" with his new neighbours, "presented a right" to the keeping of the park, affirming that he had nothing else. Pollan, endeavouring to get rid of him, petitioned direct to the Council, by whom he was upheld, and orders were sent down to that effect; but Cornish persisting, by offering to provide elsewhere for thirty-six families before Lady Day, managed to retain possession and prevent the removal of the deer, and so both parties used the land together for the time. Besides the

(5). *State Papers*, Ed. VI, vol. xiii. No. 74.

(6). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 14.

park, the garden ground of two acres on the "house side" of the church—the "north side" of the late Abbey—was to be allotted to those who had no other garden, and the Superintendent was to have for his dwelling the house behind the church, called the Priory, with some honest stipend for the maintenance of himself and family. Two dye-houses, at a rent of £4 yearly, for dying and calendering their worsteds, were next appointed them, within the Monastery, where the brew-house and bake-house were, on the "south side of the said Monastery, and be-inclosed with a stone wall."⁷ Timber and stone were assigned them at the King's charge, for setting within their houses their looms, cauldrons, and other necessities for their families—they bearing the charge of setting the same; but it was carefully ordered that this provision should be only for those who were "of the mystery of making worsteds and such like," viz., weavers, dyers, spinners, kymers, &c.

As a supply of ready money was also imperative, an order was sent to Wm. Crouche, "receyptour" of the Duke of Somerset's revenues in Somerset, to pay to the Superintendent £340, at such times as should be appointed by the Commissioners.⁸ Three hundred pounds were for the community generally to be repaid, and forty pounds for the Superintendent, "in reward towards his living and charge for the year past." They next asked for a further sum of £700, making the debt £1,000; three hundred to be employed to buy wool, five hundred for "oade," "mather," copperas, brassell, alum, and other things for their colours, and two hundred for labour, for payment of loom makers, spinsters, and others working at their occupations. For this they offered as security the bond of their Superintendent and five others—"the best of them," the said five not to leave the realm without the King's license before the debt was paid; and in case of the death of either of the bondsmen, another was to be bound in his place. Defi-

(7). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 13.

(8). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiii. No. 76.

nite days for repayment in ten years were also named, viz., £100 at Easter yearly, until the whole should be cancelled. With this they begged a remission of the debt due to the Duke of Somerset, as "in consideration of the lack of houses and necessaries promised them," they had been obliged to live upon it; but they offered to pay £130, the value of all the worsted they had made since their coming, that sum to be added to the thousand pounds, and repaid on the eleventh year.

Being thus in debt, they wisely sought all possible advantages to recoup themselves with certain privileges for the maintenance of their "mystery." They all obtained letters of "Denization,"⁹ and asked for a confirmation of their Craft Letters Patent, with the reassurance of their houses, park, and gardens. To have a hall for the examination of the true making of their "sayes" and worsteds, with authority to proceed against offenders according to the custom of other places on the other side of the seas, "where the like mystery is occupied." They desired to choose yearly five persons to be their Warden and Overseers, against whose determinations there should be no appeal; that the like occupation should not be used in any other place in the realm for the space of ten years—not until the King's debt was fully satisfied; to have all materials for their work imported Customs free, but to pay ordinary duty on anything exported; to be allowed to sell their produce "at the best commodity;" to be as free, and to have like liberties in buying wool, and otherwise, as the drapers had; to enjoy the same privileges and liberties as other clothiers and dyers of the realm, and for all taxes to be accounted and treated as Englishmen, and to pay no more than Englishmen. These requests being conceded, they were granted also the use of their own order and discipline in their churches, according to a book called *Liturgia*, a copy of which was sent up to the Council, and Vallerand Pollan, "a man of

(9). *Patent Rolls*, 5th Edward VI, part 4.

great worth, both for learning and integrity," was confirmed in his office of Superintendent.¹⁰

Thus, taking a lesson from the fate of their predecessors, they got themselves naturalized, and incorporated by Royal patent, and so became an English guild—if not entirely free from the spite of jealousy, at least fairly safe from opposition for ten years.

The "great sums" of money demanded, and the trouble the whole matter gave, seemed to some to be more than the experiment was likely to be worth, especially when remembering that the "days were long" for the repayment of the loan. The Commissioners, however, thought otherwise, and considered that whatever was due to them, or whatever sum was expended, all would be very well employed. They reported now, as the result of this confidence and their own care and attention, that the party was diligent and prosperous, careful in bringing up their youth to labour, and so ever willing to instruct the natives, that many could already spin and handle their work as well as their teachers.¹¹

Thus is seen the first use made of the Abbey after the Dissolution. On the death of Edward VI the strangers lost their protector, and on the accession of Mary they quitted England and went to Frankfort. They seem to have left little or no local mark behind them, except, perhaps, an alms dish of latén or rolled brass, bearing a Flemish legend, with Saint George and the dragon repoussé, apparently the work of one of them, a gift for good will and good luck to St. John's Church, wherein it still remains.

It would be interesting now to follow out the influence of this settlement on our manufactures, especially on our western fine cloths; but this would change the subject too much for present space. Two questions, however, attract notice, about which a few words may be added. Strype says of these

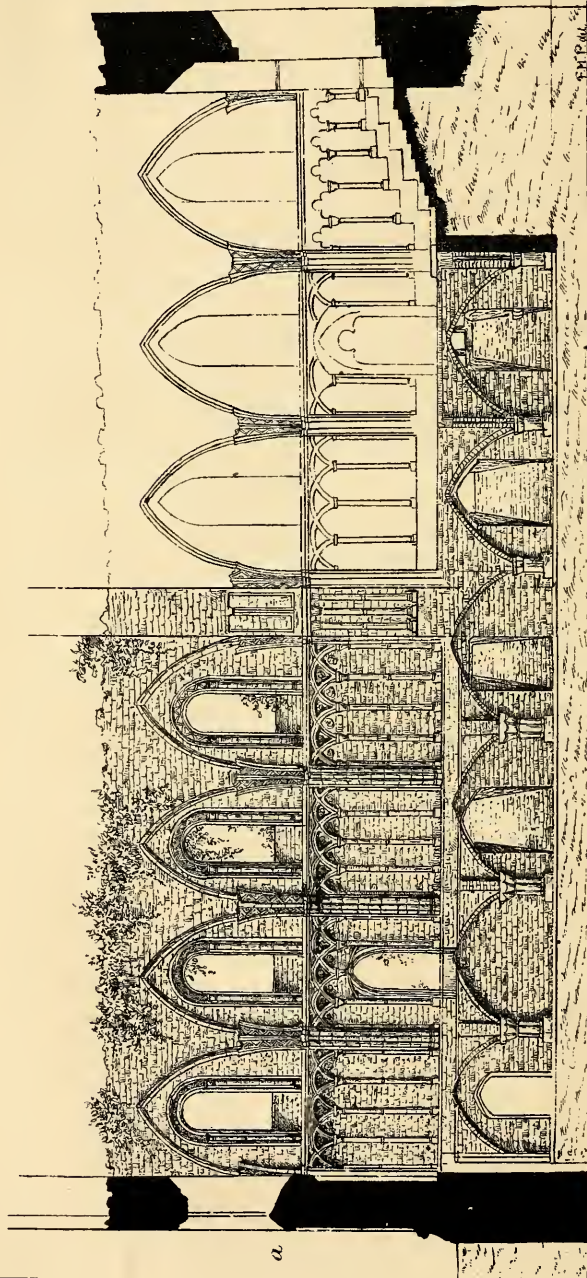
(10). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 2.

(11). *State Papers*, Edward VI, vol. xiv. No. 3.

strangers that they made “kersies and cloth of that nature as I conjecture.” That is, their occupation being kept a “mystery,” they made something about which he knew nothing, and that, as here shown in their own words, was “saye.” The old dictionaries give this as a thin sort of silk stuff, or cloth. There was also an inferior stuff, a mixture of silk and wool, called sayette, as we have now satin and satinette. In the time of the Commonwealth the word appears applied to some sort of serge; thus there were sayes, double sayes, “mild” sayes, and serge, of woollen stuff, paying differential duties; and there was also silk saye, which paid the heavy impost of £1 per yard. In the lists of church goods of pre-Reformation times, saye is often mentioned—red, blue, and black. Similar articles are sometimes of velvet and sometimes of saye. There were palls of red saye, vestments of saye, and hearse cloths of saye. If the saye (*soie*) made at Glaston was in any part of silk, in accordance with the then general meaning of the word, this would be the first silk working in England; and so we get from the coming of these strangers the beginning of another local speciality in manufactures.

The other question is the origin of the name Worrall Park, which is derived usually from Weary-all; this, in turn, said to originate from Joseph of Arimathea getting weary thereabouts. The only authority for this piece of simplicity is that an inn-keeper, at some time, told some one the story. Mr. Jones, in a paper on “Topographical Etymology,”¹² has attempted to derive it from *yr allt*, meaning the wood. There were in the park, as already mentioned, sixty acres of wood; but this could hardly be so unique a circumstance, especially in the time of our early ancestors, as to warrant so special a designation. The name, as written in Pollan’s petition, is Our Wall; a large *W* being used for Wall. One of the Council writes it O^r Wall, the *r* being placed over the *O*—showing, as customary at the time, that some letter or letters were omitted;

and, like Pollan, he uses a large *W* for Wall, as if it were a separate word. Another writes it O'rwall, with an apostrophe ; thus again marking an acknowledged omission—this being also remarkable as a very early instance of the comma used for that purpose. It would seem that the present existing tradition is altogether of recent origin, and that at the time of the dissolution the place was known as O'rwall Park ; clearly from Over Wall, the park over the wall—as distinguishing it from the smaller enclosure, the home park, within the ordinary bounds of the monastery. In habitual and daily rapid utterance, as will be quickly discovered on making the attempt, the pronunciation of O'rwall, by a very simple differentiation, as a labial necessity, glides easily and smoothly into Worrall.

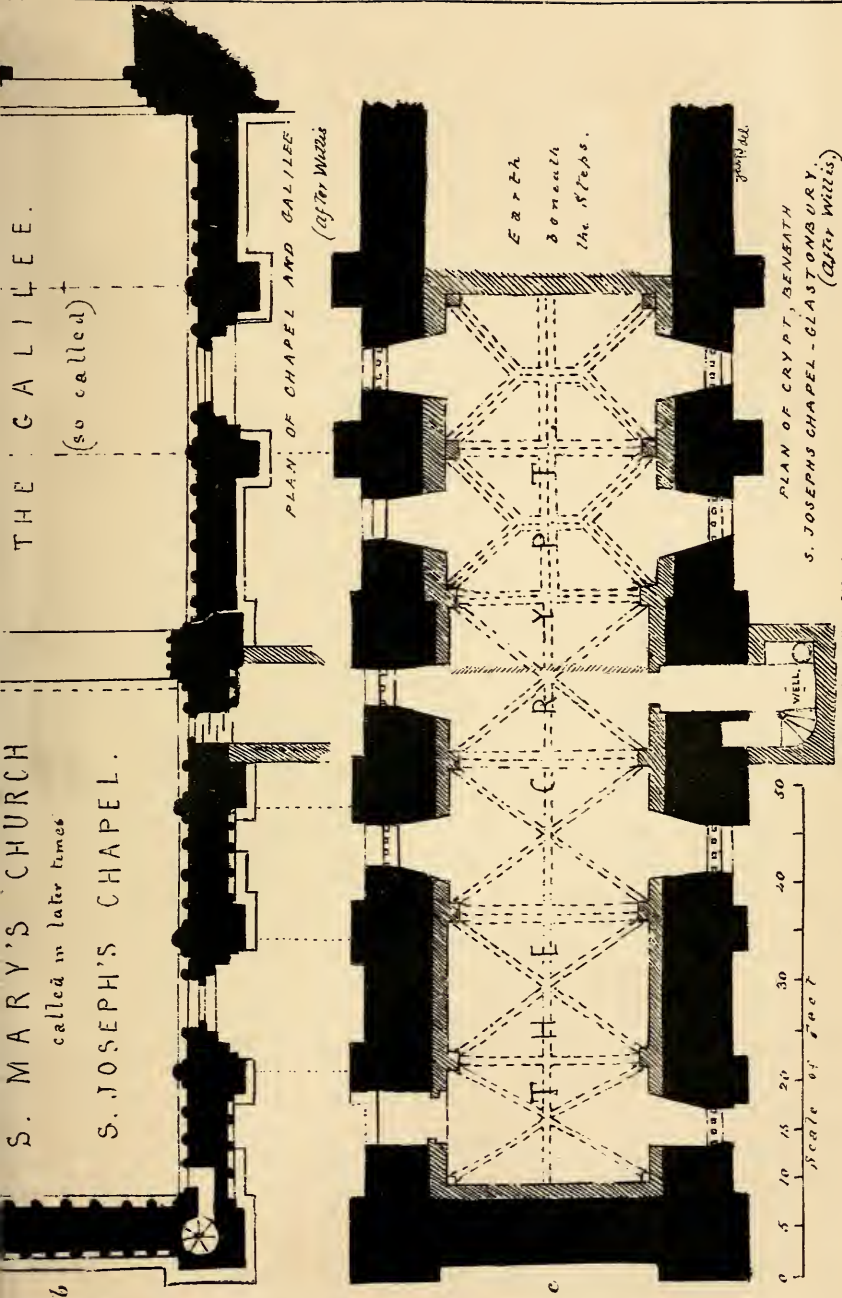


ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE OF CHAPEL AND GALILEE



S. MARY'S CHURCH
called in later times
S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

THE GALILEE.
(so called)



Glastonbury: The Abbey Ruins.¹

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The following summary of the lecture includes the observations made on the spot, together with further historical details,² and references to the sources from which they are obtained.

S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

I NEED not dwell upon the details of the legends of the early churches of Glastonbury: how Joseph of Arimathea is said to have built a church here of wood in A.D. 63, in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and how Phaganus and Diruvianus built another of stone, in honour of S.S. Peter and Paul, in A.D. 166; how S. David built another, and King Ine a fourth, though at this point, as I have already said in my lecture of this morning, we pass from the region of legend into that of history. In one of the passages in William of Malmesbury's treatise "*De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*,"³ it is implied that all four churches were erected on different sites, in a line with one another, from west to east; but on the other hand, it seems that there were only the two churches standing in his time [c. 1130], and that what he has written of the position of the other two is derived only from legend.

That which seems to stand out clear from amidst a mass of vague and incredible statements, is that an early wooden church was built here, and was for long preserved as an object of

(1). See Part I, pp. 43-48.

(2). I have taken the opportunity offered me of revising the reporter's notes, to insert such historical matter which neither the time at my disposal, nor the circumstances of open-air lecturing gave me an opportunity to introduce when on the spot.

(3). *William of Malmesbury*, p. 53. This treatise is printed in Hearne's edition of *Adam of Domerham* (and from this I shall quote throughout, in preference to Gale's edition). The exact date of the original treatise is not ascertainable. It was after 1126, and probably not later than 1135.

veneration. We are not dependent wholly upon the traditions collected by William of Malmesbury in his book, as to the existence of the "wooden church," for two of the charters, copies of which are preserved elsewhere, are dated as having been signed in this "*Ligneæ Basilica*."⁴ How long this wooden church was preserved seems doubtful. The name possibly survived the actual structure,⁵ and we soon meet with another name more frequently applied to the same building, namely, "*vetusta ecclesia*," or as Malmesbury writes—which is called the "*caldechirch*." Nowhere does Malmesbury imply that the wooden church was standing in his time. But what is certain is that it was dedicated to S. Mary. It is certain, also, that a later and greater church was built to the east of it, but probably never actually part of it; and that the building by which we are standing, and now called S. Joseph's Chapel, occupies the site of the "*vetusta ecclesia*" dedicated to S. Mary; while the ruins beyond occupy the site of the larger church, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Paul. There is no suspicion of these dedications having been shifted, and though errors sometimes creep in from confusing the dedications of certain altars with the dedication of the churches, there is no room for such error here.

Now the special feature of this Church of S. Mary, or Lady Chapel, as there is some reason to suppose that it was afterwards called, is that it stands at the west end of the church, and was once evidently an absolutely distinct building. The common position for a Lady Chapel is at the east end of the minster; but at Durham an example exists at the west end, and there was a special reason for it in that case. In many cases too

(4). The one of King Ine, A.D. 704. [See *Kemble's Codex Diplom.*, No. 51.] The other of King Cnut, A.D. 1032. [See *K.C.D.*, No. 747.] Copies of these are found in the Secretum, or Chartulary of Glastonbury, preserved in the Bodleian.

(5). The wooden church of York, it will be remembered, was afterwards enclosed with a stone one, which was again enclosed by a still larger church; but here the analogy with Glastonbury ceases, because there by extension westward as well as eastward, the individuality of the first church was entirely lost.

there is a Lady Chapel adjoining the north transept, and in one, the south transept. There are also many examples where the Lady Chapel is a separate building, though not one, perhaps, where it is so much detached as this must have been before the Galilee connected it with the west end of the church. But we must bear in mind that there are special reasons why it stands where it does: the first church had been originally dedicated to S. Mary, so another chapel dedicated to her was not absolutely needed, though of course such may have been built elsewhere.⁶ When the larger church was required there was probably no room to build to the westward of S. Mary's Church, or from the nature of the ground it was unadvisable; consequently the larger church was built eastward. And also, whereas in many cases the earlier and smaller church has been absorbed, so to speak, into the larger church, here the halo of reverence with which the antiquity of the building seems to have been surrounded, and the special sanctity which it obtained on account of the burials, or relics, within it, caused it to be preserved as a separate structure.

The starting point in the architectural history of this building is the year 1184, when, as we learn from Adam of Domerham's Chronicle, "In the summer, on S. Urban's day (May 25), the whole of the monastery, except a chamber with its chapel, and the bell tower, was destroyed by fire."⁷ We learn from the same writer, as well as from the chronicle of John of Glastonbury, who had access to much the same series of records, that

(6). The "Sacellum in Capella S. Mariæ a boreali parte chori" (Leland, *Itin.* iii. fol. 86) is explained by Professor Willis to be a small chapel or oratory, built out from the north side, towards the eastern end of this chapel, and not on the north side of the choir of the great church. Willis' *Glastonbury*, p. 14. Undoubtedly Leland is no longer speaking of the choir of the large church, for after giving a list of tombs in the choir, and then in the nave, he speaks of the Chapel of S. Mary. It may be therefore, that he refers to this chapel, though I confess to being unable to see the traces of the Sacellum in the ruins of the present building. It must also be admitted that in the view given by Stukely (dated 1723) one of the chapels on the east side of the north transept is marked as "S. Mary's Chapel," and in the letterpress he writes "On the north side is S. Mary's Chapel, as they told me, used as a stable, the manger where the altar stood."

(7). *Adam of Dom.*, Hearne, p. 333.

Henry II, after the fire, committed Glastonbury to Ralph Fitz-Stephen, one of his chamberlains; and that "he completed the Church of S. Mary of *square stone* of most splendid work, in the place where from the beginning the *old church* had stood, sparing nothing which could add to its adornment." It was dedicated, so John of Glastonbury adds, "by Reginald, Bishop of Bath, on S. Barnabas' day (June 11), *about* 1186."⁸ I do not stop now to question the dates, but I think the care shown by the insertion of the word 'about' adds to our confidence in the general accuracy of the writer's statement. Probably there was no year given in the register from which he copied, and he therefore judged of the date from the sequence of other entries as nearly as he could. There can be no doubt whatever that the existing building (that is, the four westernmost bays of the whole structure), is the church meant in this passage as being dedicated on S. Barnabas' day; there can be no question that this was what they began building first of all after the fire of 1184, leaving the larger church still in ruins.

One or two questions arise, however, not easy to answer. Was the site of the original "*vetusta ecclesia*" identical with what we have now, and was its eastern wall originally in a line with the wall marked in the plan as separating the chapel from the site of the Galilee? And secondly, was there a space between the two churches, such as that now occupied by the Galilee?

As to the "*vetusta ecclesia*," the chronicle above referred to, describing the building and dedication of the structure, says distinctly that "the new Church of S. Mary was built in the place where, *from the beginning*, the *old* had stood." This should not, however, be taken too literally, for it is very possible that the older church would have been enclosed, and the remains of the burnt church not moved away till the present was built around it. They would have been, at that time, very careful of disturbing the graves and relics of the

(8). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 335. *John of Glaston*, p. 180.

saints, and as they had no building ready⁹ as yet to which they could translate them, it is more probable that they built new foundations round the outside of the old church, than that they attempted to make use of the old ones (which probably were not of much value), or that they dug them out in order to place new ones in their exact position.

As to the other question. First it might be assumed that the western wall of the larger church stood nearly where it now does, and that the space between the two buildings was open; but there are one or two considerations which might be advanced against this theory. The fire evidently consumed *the two churches*. Now fifty feet space would probably have formed a limit to the flames, unless we pre-suppose a strong wind, and unusual facilities for the flames to spread. Still it may be contended that it was very possible that there was a building existing here of some kind, and that it was this to which William of Malmesbury obscurely refers as the Church of S. David, or of the "Twelve Converts," as being in a line with the others. If he had only described what he saw there would have been some chance of coming to a conclusion on the question of the churches here, but as he is in this passage evidently telling either what the monks told him, or what he deduced from the records, it is hopeless to obtain trustworthy evidence.

Another paragraph, however, elsewhere might be said to imply that the two churches were joined, for our author in recording the burial place of the Abbot Tica (*c.* A.D. 750-760), says that when he departed this life, he had a remarkable tomb made for him in the right hand corner of the greater church,

(9). It is true Adam of Domesday, soon after the commencement of the rebuilding of the new church (Hearne, p. 335), writes, "*At this time the bodies of S. Patrick, from the right side, of the altar of Indractus, and his companions from the left side, and S. Gildas from the pavement before the altar, were dug up, and put into shrines;*" but these are special cases, and the putting them into shrines was probably with the view of securing more offerings towards the building; they were no doubt exhibited still in the Church of S. Mary. The position of the relics, as recorded by Adam of Domesday, does not agree exactly, it may be observed, with that given in William of Malmesbury's treatise.

near the *entry* of the old (church).¹⁰ It may however be said that this may mean only that there was a passage or some connecting building between the two.

Another and last hypothesis would be that the new church, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Paul, was commenced at the eastern end of the old church, and that the site had been followed by the later structure, up to William of Malmesbury's time. I shall, however, have something to say upon the probable length of the larger church later on.

Now S. Joseph's Chapel, as we see it, the foundation of which was laid in, or soon after 1184, and completed ready for consecration in, or soon after 1186, is consequently all of one date and style from the ground to the top of what remains of the walls. The eastern wall, as the plan shows, was removed when the walls connecting the chapel with the western end of the church and enclosing what is called the Galilee, were erected. We have no record as to when this Galilee was designed, but it will be seen that it formed a grand porch of three bays, with a long flight of steps extending the whole width of its eastern end, as shewn by the marks in the north wall now remaining. It had buttresses and windows ranging with the series of windows of S. Joseph's Chapel. It was evidently an after thought, and was included in the building of the larger church which went on year after year as funds were forthcoming, or as money could be set aside from the ordinary revenues of the abbey, and hence we do not find any notice of it amongst the benefactions recorded by Adam of Domerham, and John of Glastonbury. No abbey account rolls exist, and even if they did, it is not often easy to fit the weekly wages and the varieties of the material purchased to portions of building remaining. All that can be said is that the style of architecture seems to shew that the Galilee is of the 13th century, and quite fifty years later than the chapel. In its present dilapi-

(10). "In dextero angulo *majoris ecclesie* juxta introitum *vetustæ*." William of Malmesbury, *De Antiq. Glaston.*, p. 28. See also *ibid.*, p. 63.

dated state we find no remains of the southern side, and of the northern side so small a portion has survived, that there is not much to be said about the style; but it will be worth while to examine carefully one or two points at the junction of the old work with the new. The exact site of the eastern wall, which was pulled down, is clearly marked by a projection forming a kind of pilaster, over which in its altered state a large arch was evidently thrown: it is probable that the bases and columns which ornament it, and even the ashlar work, with the hollows corresponding with the columns in front, is material used up from the older building. In the small portion remaining, one may trace, in spite of the ivy, the junction, almost stone for stone.¹¹ Whether this wall had an eastern window, or was originally pierced by a doorway, there are no traces sufficient to show, and no documents to throw any light on the subject. The walls of the additional work were evidently set back about one foot on either side, so that the Galilee was two feet wider than the chapel on the inside; but on the outer side the two presented one continuous line, the ten or twelve inches therefore in reality representing only the difference of the thickness in each of the two walls.

There is another point deserving attention, namely the junction of the Galilee with the western wall of the large church. Only a small portion remains, but it is sufficient to show, it seems to me, from the state of the bonding, that the Galilee was not added after the western wall was completed, but that the walls were carried up together, and that the idea of uniting the two suggested itself during the building of the western wall, and when it came to the question as to what kind of porch should be provided. It is very unfortunate that we have not a larger portion remaining; had a few feet more been preserved, we might have been more certain of the design.

And now as to the practical use of this large porch. As a

(11). I observe in the masonry of the south wall, a bonding stone, to all appearance taken from the base of one of the buttresses, and used up in an inverted position.

porch, of course it must be considered as part of the design of the large church. As a Galilee, it must be taken in connection with the chapel, and I believe the only passage which can be said to throw any light upon the use is that which John of Glastonbury has preserved from the register, in respect of the benefactions of Abbot Adam of Sodbury [1322-1335]. "He assigned to the office of the Sacrist twenty marcs annually for the maintenance of four priests well skilled in singing, who, together with the two anciently appointed to the '*Galilee*,' and the other two who are supplied by the sacrist and the almoner, shall daily perform the service, with melodious singing in *the chapel of the Blessed Virgin*, clad in surplice and amice, and shall come after the same manner to the solemn masses of the choir."¹² We may perhaps from these words understand the Galilee as serving for the Church of S. Mary the same purpose as the choir served afterwards for the larger church. It is impossible, of course, to say what the interior arrangements were. The steps extending from side to side prevented the placing any altars against the east end, as was the case in the Galilee at Durham; there must therefore have been a screen of some kind, against which the altar stood, and this screen or reredos was no doubt a low one, reaching a height, perhaps, but little above that of the level of the top of the steps—say in all some seven or eight feet. Standing, then, with his back to the western wall of S. Joseph's Chapel, the spectator would, on looking over the screen, and through the open western doors, obtain a view of the whole length of the grand nave, rising by steps up to the space beneath the tower, and then probably by further steps to the choir, and the east end where the altar stood. Such an interior view could not probably have been found elsewhere in England.

As I have already said, there appear to have been only those two churches in existence in historical times, viz., the

(12). "Cum duobus de Galilæa antiquitus ordinatis." *John of Glast.* (Hearne), p. 268.

ecclesia major and the *ecclesia vetusta*. No mention of any other church is found in any of the records which we possess. While the one church bears the name invariably of the “*ecclesia major*,” the other is usually known either by the name of “*ecclesia vetusta*,” or *ecclesia S. Mariæ*. And in references to the saints, etc., buried within it, and gifts made to it, which I am about to detail, it will be seen that it is described equally under both these titles, and they can refer but to one and the same building. It will be seen that from the time of Abbot Michael (1253) onwards we find no longer any reference to the Church of S. Mary—but to the “Capella” of S. Mary. That this is the same building may perhaps be said to be not proved, although the evidence, as already said, points in that direction.

William of Malmesbury, in referring to S. David, says: “Some, indeed, affirm that the relics of the holy and excellent man, together with those of S. Patrick, had been deposited in the “*vetusta ecclesia* ;”¹³ and again, a little later on, he says that “King Ine had caused the bodies of the martyr, Indractus, and his companions to be translated from the place of their martyrdom, and buried in that same church. His bones were placed in a stone pyramid on the left of the altar, but those of the others beneath the pavement, as chance fell or care determined.”¹⁴ And to this list should be added the remains of one of the early Abbots, by name Hemgislus, in the account of whose death the same record says “he rests ‘in *vetusta ecclesia*.’ ”¹⁵

In speaking generally of the many saints buried in this church, William of Malmesbury expatiates on the sanctity of the building and the reverence in which it is held; he writes,

“In it, besides S. Patrick and the others of whom I have spoken, there are preserved the human remains of many saints,

(13). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 26.

(14). *Ibid*, p. 28.

(15). *Ibid*, p. 51.

nor is there any space in the building which is free of their ashes. So much so, that the stone pavement, and, indeed, the sides of the Altars, and the very Altar itself, above and below, is crammed with the multitude of the relics. Rightly, therefore, it is called the heavenly sanctuary on earth, of so large a number of saints is it the repository.”¹⁶

And a little later on he describes the stone pavement: “Where also you may observe in the pavement, stones arranged with great ingenuity, in alternate triangles and squares, and marked with leaden patterns. If I believe that in these there is something of sacred mystery contained, I do no wrong to Religion.”¹⁷

Then, too, we have the account of the discovery in this chapel of the small Sapphire Altar, supposed to have been presented to S. David. The story is unquestionably an interpolation by the later copyist in Malmesbury’s treatise, made probably soon after the fire of 1184. But still it represents the belief of the twelfth century, and the discovery which is recorded may well be an absolute fact. The passage runs: “But when this oft-mentioned stone had for a long while lain concealed, having been hidden of old for fear of the accidents of war, no one knowing the place, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Abbot of Glastonbury, of *pious memory*, found it in a certain doorway of the *Church of S. Mary*, and adorned it exquisitely with gold and silver and precious stones, as it now appears.”¹⁸

(16). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 27. I might quote more in the same strain. One illustration I must, however, add, characteristic of the habits of the time: “Antiquitas et Sanctorum congeries excivit reverenciam loco, ut vix ibi quis noctu præsumat excubias agere, *via* interdiu excrescens flegma projicere.”

(17). *Ibid.*, p. 27. I do not know the precise meaning of “*lapides plumbo sigillatos*,” but probably they were small incised slabs, in which the pattern was brought level with the surface, by being filled with lead, instead of the black mastic, traces of which are sometimes visible in the incised slabs of a later date.

(18). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 42. The words “of pious memory” imply that the Abbot was dead, though not perhaps a long while. He died 1171. But William of Malmesbury died nearly 30 years before this, so could not have written it. In the chronicle of Adam of Domesham this account of Bishop Henry ornamenting the sapphire altar which he had found in “quodam hostio ecclesiæ B. Mariæ,” occurs in its proper place. [*Ad. of D.*, p. 317.]

And now to speak of some of the gifts. Sigericus, or Siger, Bishop of Wells, who died in 997, is recorded to have given seven sets of hangings to Glastonbury, ornamented with white lions, and with which the "*vetus ecclesia*" should be hung throughout on his anniversary.¹⁹

Later on, Walkelin [le Warren], when he granted the church of Winford to the abbey of which Herlewin, his brother, was abbot (1102-1120), is recorded to have laid the deed-of-gift on the altar, "*in illa vetusta ecclesia quæ alde chirche vocatur.*"²⁰ Lastly, under Abbot Henry (1126-71), a rental from Puckle Church was granted for a wax candle to be kept burning in *the Church of S. Mary*, which, because of its great age, was called *Ealde Churche*.²¹ I perhaps also should not omit to mention certain indulgencies granted to the church of S. Mary by Reginald, Bp. of Bath and Wells (1174-92), and by Walter, Bp. of Waterford.²²

After this date, as far as I can see, we cease to hear of the Church of S. Mary, but we hear frequently of the Chapel of S. Mary. As already said, it is open to doubt whether another chapel, with an Altar in it to S. Mary, was erected in the North Transept; or whether the church of S. Mary became the Lady Chapel. Professor Willis adopts the latter view without even question.

Abbot Michael of Ambresbury, who died 1253, left two silver cups and two silver basins, which he had vowed to *the Chapel of S. Mary*; ²³ and in the time of John of Taunton (1270-90), Adam le Eye leaves a rental, from which is to be distributed by the hands of the monk who is warden (*custos*), five shillings annually, half of which is to go to supply a candle on the five

(19). "Hic dedit vii. pallia Glastoniæ cum albis leonibus de quibus *vetus ecclesia* in anniversario ejus tota ornatur." W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 92.

(20). From the "Auctarium" at the end of the same MS. at Cambridge, from which Hearne has printed *Adam of Domerham*. Hearne, p. 618. [MS. folio 121a.]

(21). *Adam of Dom.*, Hearne, p. 309.

(22). From charters, &c., printed by Hearne at the end of *John of Glas.* p. 385.

(23). *Adam of D.*, p. 523, *John of Glust.*, p. 224.

chief feasts of the Virgin in the said *chapel*;²⁴ and about the same time William Hogheles gives a rental of 13d. (payable in four quarterly payments of 3¼d. each), to keep up the light of the *Chapel of S. Mary* of Glastonbury.²⁵ Abbot Adam of Sodbury, who died 1335, amongst other gifts, gave eight surplices, and eight decent amices for the *Chapel of S. Mary*, for vesting the chaplains;²⁶ while Abbot John de Breynton, who died 1342, gave to the *Chapel of S. Mary* a red suit with gold thread (which afterwards brother John Payn, the sacristan, gave away to the Church of S. Benignus).²⁷

The above series of references will show the various ways in which this building is spoken of from the 11th century onwards: never, it will be observed, by the name of S. Joseph's Chapel.²⁸

The Crypt beneath S. Joseph's Chapel.

Besides the remains of S. Joseph's Chapel, and of the Galilee, there is a feature to which attention should be drawn; namely, their two crypts. The first question to be asked is, "Had S. Mary's Church, as built in 1184-86, a crypt?" A careful study of all the details, with the measurements and notes made by the late Professor Willis, leaves one in no doubt. It had not. The present crypt was built, or rather "dug out," in the fifteenth century. It will be seen at once that the windows of the crypt are most irregularly cut through the

(24). From charters, etc., printed by Hearne at the end of John of Glast., p. 366.

(25). *Ibid*, p. 368.

(26). *John of Glast.*, p. 269. See also *ante*, p. 32, where Abbot Adam assigns 20 marks for the daily service in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin. The passage however does not prove that the Chapel of the Virgin and the Galilee were parts of the same building.

(27). *Ibid*, p. 271.

(28). I must add that I have not met with the name of S. Joseph's Chapel in any single document, or in any description previous to the 18th century. Leland does not know the name, at least he does not give it. I am rather curious to know who was the author of the name. Was it given after the Dissolution with a view of staying the hand of the spoiler? or is it an instance of the slipshod and blundering nomenclature, not infrequent with seventeenth and eighteenth century antiquarian writers, and which frequently give rise to myths, which undermine the true history?

side walls, nor are there any traces that, in the original structure, there were any such in their places; nor, indeed, are there any signs of a doorway earlier than the one of the 15th century. This, of itself, would be sufficient evidence: but when it is found that the new work is of so different a kind to the old—when the walls are seen to be faced with ashlar, belonging to work undoubtedly of the 15th century,—when we see, too, that by the insertion of the crypt the floor of the chapel must have been raised, so as to be level with the original bench-table,—the matter, taking all the circumstances into account, is put beyond all question. The only argument on the other side presenting any difficulty, is the danger which would have been incurred in digging out twelve feet of earth, unless the foundations of the chapel went down to that depth. Not having had any opportunity for investigating the question (and it could not be settled without some digging on the outside, for there is no opening on the inside, as far as I can discover, sufficient for distinguishing the older work), I cannot say whether the foundations go down or not. If they did not, it was a matter of great risk; and unless it was found that the lias beds were exceedingly firm, it could hardly have been attempted without much positive danger, even with the two feet of extra walling introduced on each side.²⁹ It is possible, however, that the walls of the 12th century building were carried down to that depth; since it might have been that it was necessary to reach a bed of the harder lias rock, or it might have been thought advisable to go down deep, in order absolutely to enclose the “older church,” supposing that the theory which I have advanced, as to this enclosure, is a correct one. But even if, in the fifteenth century, they found the foundations extending to this depth, it was still a hazardous thing to do, to dig out the middle.

(29). I reckon from wall to wall in the crypt little more than 20 feet. From wall to wall in the chapel itself above 24 feet. In the Galilee, the walls being set back each a foot, there is some three feet gain in thickness on each side below.

It will be seen also that the same irregularities in the position of the windows, when viewed in connection with the design of the upper portion, are apparent equally in the two eastern bays of the crypt, beneath the Galilee, as in the four western bays beneath the chapel. This shows that in the 13th century, when they erected the Galilee, they had no idea of inserting a crypt, as they would have left openings for the windows, instead of doing as they have done, namely, made two doorways, in places where it will be seen their position rendered it impossible to insert a window beneath; and (so far as can be judged from what is preserved on the north side), when they made the windows in the 15th century in the crypt, they had to block up the two doorways above, which, till then, had led into the Galilee, and gave access to the steps leading up into the larger church, without passing through the chapel.

We read of their removing relics of saints, and placing them in shrines, as the great church was nearing its completion, and so it is quite possible that the ground of the chapel, by the close of the 14th century, no longer answered to the pious description given by William of Malmesbury and by the interpolating scribe, to which I have already referred. Consequently there was no religious scruple in digging the earth out. Possibly, also, there were reasons why a crypt was needed. The accession of relics required larger space for displaying them, and probably new benefactors required their tombs to be erected within the buildings; hence it was found that neither in S. Joseph's Chapel, nor in the Galilee, could such be provided, without interfering with the due celebration of the services, or spoiling the general aspect.

It will be observed that the crypt is not extended beneath the third or eastern bay of the Galilee, as this would have disturbed the steps, and perhaps endangered the western wall of the church.

The two bays which were excavated beneath the Galilee, are found to exhibit architectural details sufficiently different

from the rest, perhaps, to show that they were erected first; that is, the architect did not disturb the chapel proper till the crypt under the Galilee was completed. It will be observed, too, that the four western bays extend to, and are united to, the two eastern bays, and that they do not coincide with the bays of the chapel above. The explanation of the latter circumstance is, that in the upper part of the building the space of seven feet, where once the old eastern wall stood, was left, or, rather, was occupied by a broad pier on either side, with an arch above, as already explained; while below, no space being left answering to it, the vaulting of the western bays begins immediately from the line of the eastern side of this thick wall. In other words, the 12th century architect had above a distance of about 53 feet to divide into four equal parts; while below, the 15th century architect had a clear 60 feet, and this space he also divided into four equal parts; consequently the divisions did not coincide. Had there been originally a crypt, no doubt the architect would have followed the older divisions. As it was, they removed the foundations of the eastern wall (if these actually went so deep, which I much doubt), and treated the space as if nothing of the kind had ever been there. The irregularity of the work of the two levels is seen clearly by looking at the elevation of the structure itself.

One other point should be noticed, though of little importance, perhaps, to the history of the building, but it has misled observers. The *voussoirs*, that is, the stones of the vaulting supporting the crypt, as far as they remain, are of twelfth century character, and some have thought, therefore, that the crypt *must* therefore be of that date. But this is not sufficient evidence by itself; while, on the other hand, the form of the arch is sufficient to show that it is not of that period. It may be contended that it is old material used up again; but then it would not follow that the material had already been used previously on the spot where we find it. Professor Willis suggests that it might have come from the chapter-house built by Henry

of Blois (1126-71), which is recorded to have been rebuilt early in the 14th century, at least, the foundations were laid by Abbot Fromund (1303-22), and though the whole was not completed till Abbot Chinnock's time, who was appointed in 1374, one would have supposed that this stone would have been used up in the many buildings going on simultaneously, and scarcely kept till almost the close of the 15th century; for neither the eastern part, nor the western part, can be put earlier than this date.

Judging by the style of the windows, the crypts might well be part of the work of Abbot Beere (1492-1524), who, according to some notes taken by Leland (from a book which he says Abbot Beere had given himself to the Abbey), spent a considerable sum in building, and added certain chapels and vaults to different parts of the church. When we look to the springing of the vault, we find without doubt an abacus and capital combined, in a rude imitation of the Norman style, but such as was certainly never cut in the twelfth century, the springer being of a unique, not to say extraordinary, shape. Now to all appearance the voussoirs are of the same kind of stone, and of the same style of workmanship and general appearance. Of course it would be argued that the respond was made to match the voussoirs, but I think it must be admitted that those who cut one may well have cut the other. And further, there is this consideration which militates against this being a case of old material used up. The voussoirs of a semicircular arch would not work into an expanded, almost flat, arch, unless re-cut, or at least here and there others of a less rapid angle introduced. I see no traces of anything of this kind. The voussoirs seem to me to be uniform, and to be cut for the place they were intended to fill, and the capital, abacus and springer, part of one and the same design. I admit there is a clumsy appearance about the whole, but then I think it is capable of another explanation. The monks in the 15th century believed their

church to be the veritable "vetusta ecclesia," itself, and if they knew better it would still have been expedient that others should believe it. To have put in a crypt, strictly of their own style of building, would have altogether destroyed the illusion of this being the very burial place of the saints, beginning with S. Joseph, and including every name of the saints of Britain, or early England, which could be thought of. The architect had therefore instructions to build in the Norman style. He took for the character of his mouldings the earliest piece of work he could find standing, and designed his capital, abacus, and arch on that model. He was not successful in his imitation, at least not more so than several architects were, some forty years ago, when trying to build in the Norman style. I look upon the crypt then as an insertion, and every stone cut for the purpose, and none earlier than about Abbot Beere's time.

The Well.

Connected with the crypt is a Well. Of this I can tell nothing. It is not mentioned, so far as I can see in any of the documents through which I have gone to discover whatever notes I could of any buildings mentioned. It has been thought, because the arch in it has Norman work, that the well is of Norman date, and that it was an ordinary external well, of no special sanctity, and used for the purposes of cleaning the church, etc.: as there is no document referring to it, it is impossible to say whether it is so or not. As it is so close to where the pyramids stood and where King Arthur was found, I think, if it had been known in the 12th century, it would have been turned to account in describing the wonders of the spot. But my examination of the masonry (so far as the light and time at my disposal would allow) failed absolutely to detect any junction of the work of the 15th century with the work surrounding the well. If access was gained from the outside, and steps to the same, I should have expected to have found some traces of the breaking in of the 15th century upon the older work. I cannot say it is not there, but till I am

shewn it I shall be more inclined to think well and passage to be all of one date, and that the date of the crypt. As the arch is semicircular, the same objection to the material being used up again would not hold, as I have contended is the case with the flat crypt arches.

The Architecture of S. Joseph's Chapel.

Before quitting the subject of S. Joseph's Chapel, I would just say a word or two as to its interest and importance from a purely architectural point of view. It is a dated example, that is, we know the exact year of its foundation, and very nearly the year of its completion. It must have been commenced not earlier than the close of 1184, and it was dedicated in May, 1186, or the year after. And this is a most interesting and instructive period of architectural history. The Norman style is giving way to the Gothic, but it is giving way gradually; the pointed arch and the slender columns, the undercut and delicate ornaments, did not all come in at once, but grew, as it were, gently and by degrees, out of the Norman. Of this transition style, no more instructive example could perhaps be found. The round arch is still retained, but the mouldings are no longer the heavy and solid squares and rounds of the Norman style. There is a general lightness in the arrangement which is beginning, as it were, to dawn, and if we had but the original vaulting preserved, this would have been more apparent. Many of the shafts, of which there are traces, were evidently detached, and slender in proportion to their height; while the intersecting arcade, it will be observed, combines the round arch with the acutely-pointed. Each pair of columns taken alternately are surmounted by a round arch; while each pair taken consecutively are surmounted by a pointed arch. In a sense, too, the ornamentation (the little which is left of it)³⁰ displays the characteristic ornamental

(30). The ornamental bosses introduced into the upper portion of the panels of the arcade seem to me to be rather different to the rest. They may have been carved in 1186, but I confess to thinking they must be additions.

mouldings of both the styles. The zigzag moulding so characteristic of the Norman style by being undercut, and so to speak duplicated, has produced an ornament not altogether unlike that of the tooth ornament of the Early English style. It is a great misfortune that the vaulting has been swept entirely away, only the commencing of the ribs here and there being left to show something of the skill and beauty with which the roof was designed. The portion, too, remaining of the arch which spans the space where the east wall was cut through, is suggestive of some skilful treatment which one would much like to have seen as it was carried out by the architect. More than all, perhaps, one would desire to have had handed down to us sufficient remains of the walls shewing the position of the reredos and the general arrangements of the chapel, as well as of the Galilee; and thus to have been enabled somewhat to have pictured to our imagination the appearance which the chapel must have presented, with its screen and altars, its stained glass, painted walls,³¹ and its ancient incised floor. Probably all this remained intact at the Reformation, but the notes of William of Worcester, and those of Leland give us no insight into all this. The former contents himself with dry measurements; the latter but tells us the position of some of the tombs. While bewailing the polemical hate and fury, or the wretched greed for the value of the stones, either one or the other of which, or probably both together, have robbed us of so grand and eloquent a monument of the skill and piety of past ages, all we can do is to care for and treasure up the few traces which remain to us.

(31). Traces of paintings on the walls were a few years ago visible, so one writer says.

II. THE GREATER CHURCH.

The party next proceeded to the ruins of the larger church, and having taken up a position beneath where the central tower stood, MR. JAMES PARKER continued his lecture.

We are now standing in the midst of the greater church, which, roughly speaking, may be said to be four hundred feet long. This, as you may imagine, well bears comparison with our Cathedrals. Canterbury, for instance, including the space beneath the towers at the western, and Becket's Crown at the eastern, end, is little over 500 feet; and if we add the Galilee and S. Joseph's Chapel here, which we may fairly do to make the comparison equal, I do not know but that Glastonbury has the advantage by a foot or two. The total of York is given as only 470, and while Norwich and Gloucester are about the same length as the one church of Glastonbury between the east and west walls, Chichester, Worcester, Wells, and Exeter, are some ten to twenty feet short of the 400, while Rochester is only just above 300 feet.

The history of the building, up to a certain date, followed very much that of many of our larger and ancient cathedrals and minsters. We have very few records on which to rely, and the misfortune is that we have no remains which belong to the earlier history. In the story of S. Joseph's Chapel I passed over the account of the Churches of Joseph of Arimathea, of S. Patrick, and of S. David, as little worthy of credit, but observed that the existence of the Church of Ine rests upon much surer grounds than any of those just named.

There is of course no saying what that church was like. King Ine's church (A.D. 688-728), dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul, may well, like the church recovered by S. Augustine at Canterbury (A.D. 602), have been raised and enlarged some two hundred years after, when the roof would

need repair; and S. Dunstan, who was Abbot here, while Archbishop Odo was restoring and raising his metropolitan church (940-960), and who was an active builder in stone as well as a patron of all mechanical work in metal, would have been the most likely Abbot to have commenced such a work before he left Glastonbury himself to succeed Odo as Archbishop of Canterbury.³² Generally speaking the Danish incursions would have prevented much energy in building between the times of Dunstan and those of Cnut, and we read that the Abbots Egilward and Egilnoth (1027-77) did nothing to help the church; during that time therefore the church was going to decay. But just as Lanfranc, immediately on his appointment to Canterbury, began to build and completed his church between 1070-1077, so we may fairly accept the statement of the chronicler that Thurstan began to rebuild his church, and we may assume that he did so immediately on his appointment in 1082, and that he had completed the choir with its triforium gallery when an outbreak, to which I have to refer, took place.

The Church of Abbot Thurstan, 1082—1101.

Egilnoth (or Ailnoth), the last Saxon Abbot of Glastonbury, was, according to Gervase, deposed in the 4th Council which Lanfranc held, namely, at London, in the year 1076,³³ and to him succeeded Thurstan, in the year 1082, who from the circumstance

(32). There is no definite record of his rebuilding or enlarging his church in the short account of Dunstan which William of Malmesbury has preserved. It is perhaps implied, however, that he did something since he speaks of "*Dunstanus cujus industriâ reffloruit ecclesia*" (p. 92), and he goes on to add that he made organs for the church and two chief signa, *i.e.*, bells struck like a gong. Probably these and such like ornaments bore his name, while the registers, in which were recorded what he built, may well, during the troubles with the Danes, have been lost. And work begun by Dunstan may have been continued after he left Glastonbury, and explain the line in a short biographical notice of King Edgar (959-975), "*Glastonbury, quod Pater ejus fundavit ipse perfecit*. [MS. quoted by Hearne, in appendix to *Adam of D.* p. 665.] It is singular, however, when Edgar's body was brought to the church they were obliged to bury it at the doorway leading from the Chapter House. It looks as if the church was not sufficiently completed for its reception. W. of M. p. 87.

(33). Gervase Actus Pontif. Cantuariensium [Twisden col., 1654] De Lanfranco.

which I have to narrate, gained, not unreasonably, an unenviable notoriety with the chroniclers. It seems this abbot, not being able to bend the English monks to his will, employed an armed force, and two or three of the monks were killed.³⁴ I must confine myself to that part of the story which concerns the building, but I must premise that the cause was a "Ritual question," namely, he wanted to introduce the Norman chants, while they held tenaciously to that which they had learnt, and were accustomed to, namely, the Gregorian. The story, as told by William of Malmesbury in Latin, differs only so much from that told in the Peterborough continuation of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in English as might reasonably be expected in the same story, told by different chroniclers; each deriving his account from a good source. The part of the story as told in the English chronicle, relating to the church, is as follows, and under the year 1083:

"One day the Abbot went into the *Chapter House* and spake against the monks, and would misuse them, and sent after laymen, and they came into the chapter house upon the monks full armed: and then the monks were greatly afraid of them, knew not what they were to do, but fled in all directions: some ran into the *Church*, and locked the doors after them: and they went after them into the minster, and would drag them out, as they durst not go out. But a rueful thing happened there on that day. The Frenchmen broke into the *Choir* and hurled towards the altar where the monks were; and some of the young ones went up on the *Up-floor*, and kept shooting downwards with arrows towards the sanctuary, so that in the *Rood* that stood above the altar there stuck many arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under, and earnestly cried to God, imploring His mercy. . . .

(34). For his part in this scandalous business the Abbot was for a time expelled. W. of Malmesbury records that there is good reason for believing that on William Rufus coming to the throne Thurstan bribed him with 500 pounds of silver to restore him to the abbey (p. 116). He was undoubtedly restored, and there is no improbability in 500 pounds being the price.

Three were slain to death, and eighteen wounded.”³⁵

The question is, had the narrator of this story (which happened in 1083) the Church of Thurstan before him, or that of Herlewin, which was built afterwards (1101-20)?

The passage in the above chronicle is in the same handwriting as that which extends to 1121, and may therefore presumably be written at about that date. William of Malmesbury did not write his book, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, much before 1130,³⁶ while Orderic Vital, in his fourth book, has a short abstract of the circumstance,³⁷ which particular book must have been written between 1125 and 1127.³⁸ Consequently, we have no direct proof that the description refers to Thurstan’s Church; and we know how frequently historians apply stories, and translate details, to fit the buildings which exist at their own time. But as the three accounts seem to be all derived from an older source, and not to be copied one from another, I think we may fairly assume that the description is accurate, and that the narrator has not fitted the story to a newer and later church. The special point on which this

(35). William of Malmesbury’s version (p. 114) makes the Rood struck by a single arrow, and adds an account of a miracle, how that blood issued from the wound. One of the monks had used the Rood as a means of defence; and the soldier who shot the arrow was so frightened at what he had done, that he rushed out and destroyed himself. But this divergence in a particular point does not militate against the general accuracy of the story. Again, Malmesbury makes but two slain, and fourteen wounded. It would almost look as if the story came direct from different eye-witnesses.

(36). It is true it was one of his earlier books, but he is supposed only to have been born c. 1095.

(37). Ordericus Vitalis, book iv. cap. 13.

(38). M. Delisle’s preface to the edition of *Orderic Vital*, published by the Société de l’Histoire de France, cap. iii. It is rather singular that at the end of his short chapter describing this disturbance, William of Malmesbury adds, “Hujus etiam rei testis est *Orosius*, Anglorum Historiographus.” I think this must be a blunder of the copyist for Ordericus; and if what I have said about the date of writing the two works be correct, it is quite possible for William of Malmesbury to have seen Orderic’s *Ecclesiastical History*. Supposing that this line is not an insertion of the copyist, William of Malmesbury is the first writer who gives Orderic that title of Historiographer of the English. But as Orderic wrote his books irregularly—books 1 and 2, and 11 and 12, not being written till 1136, and book 13 not till 1141—it would appear that Malmesbury, if the view be taken that he wrote the line in his original copy, must by some means or another, have obtained early copies of Orderic’s history as the several chapters were written.

evidence bears is the mention of the "Upp-floor" in the English MS. It finds its equivalent with William of Malmesbury in the word *Solarium*, and this would mean here a gallery over the vaulting of the aisles, opening into the church. In other words, it shows that the Church of Thurstan was a church with a choir which had aisles, and with what we call, commonly, a triforium over them. The use of the word "Solar," which simply means an upper chamber or gallery of any kind—or as it is so well expressed in the English "Up-floor"—is in several cases applied to this part of the church. In the account, for instance, of the fight in the Church of S. Donatien at Bruges; given us by Galbert de Bruges, in his chronicle of the death of Count Charles the Good of Flanders,³⁹ much of the action of the exciting drama takes place in the *Solar* of the church. It was before an altar here that the Count was murdered, and there is a vivid description of one of his followers hiding here, behind the organ, and thinking to escape by jumping down on to the top of the choir stalls. Also, when vengeance came upon the traitors, they in their turn took refuge in the Solar of the church, and cast down upon their assistants below what missiles they could obtain from the fabric. There is something similar to this in the vivid scene described as taking place at Glastonbury, where the archers from above shot their arrows or cast down their weapons upon the monks beneath.

Now in respect of Thurstan's successor, Herlewin, we are told that "he pulled down the church which Thurstan had begun,"⁴⁰ and it is interesting to remark how the History of Glastonbury seems to coincide with that of Canterbury.

I shall assume that the description of the choir, in which the soldiers mounted up into the triforium, belonged to the church

(39). It will be found printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. 2, 179-219, where I have referred to it. The same chronicle is also I believe printed in Pertz, vol. xii. p. 561-619. The Day of the Assassination was Mar. 2, 1127, and all the events take place within the few days following.

(40). "Ecclesiam a prædecessore inchoatam." W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 117.

which Abbot Thurstan was building; for I have given reasons why the description did not probably belong to the new church of 1102-20, which took its place; and that it applied to the old church which Thurstan found existing when he was appointed, in 1082, is, on the whole, improbable.

It may be remarked that in the description we possess of Lanfranc's church by Edmer the singer, we find that the church at Canterbury had a triforium gallery, the wall above the arches "being set with small dark windows." This would have supplied just what the graphic account of the soldiers shooting *down* at the unfortunate monks below, from the up-floor, would imply to have existed at Glastonbury.

The Church of Abbot Herlewin, 1102-1120.

Again we must remember that at Canterbury, within twenty years of Lanfranc's completion of his church, Anselm, his successor (1093), was dissatisfied with the extent and height of the work which was done, and pulled the choir down. The chronicler gives no definite reason; he implies, however, what I have said, by adding that "Anselm erected it so much *more magnificently* that nothing like it could be seen in England."⁴¹ Just so was it at Glastonbury. In 1102 Abbot Herlewin was appointed, and all that William of Malmesbury records respecting the church is, "He pulled down to the very ground the church begun by his predecessor, *because it did not correspond with the importance of their possessions*, and began a new one on which he spent four hundred and eighty pounds."⁴²

Passing over Sigfrid, abbot from 1120-26, of whom nothing is recorded as regards building, we come to the appointment of a great builder, namely Henry of Blois, the nephew of Henry I. He had only been Abbot three years, when he was appointed to the See of Winchester, but still retained his position and emoluments of Abbot. So far as can be judged from the records of his works the abbey did not suffer from this partition

(41). William of Malmesbury *De Gestis Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 138.

(42). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 117.

of his time and energies. When we examine the list of buildings recorded to have been erected by him, we may, I think, come to the conclusion that the new church had been pretty well completed by his two predecessors.

William of Malmesbury records the appointment of Abbot Henry in 1126 in a chapter of very few lines of a complimentary strain. He does not refer to the Abbot's appointment as having just happened when he is writing, so it may be presumed that two or three years had elapsed; but with this short chapter he terminates his treatise *De Antiquitate Glastoniæ*.⁴³

Though we lose William of Malmesbury, another chronicler takes up the story from this date, namely, *Adam of Domerham*, and from the extracts which he has given us (from the Abbey Registers probably) we learn that this Abbot Henry, during his somewhat long tenure of office, erected the following buildings:

“A certain royal palace which was called ‘Castellum.’

Also the Bell Tower.

The Chapter-House, Cloister, Lavatory, Refectory, and Dormitory.

The Infirmary with its chapel.

An external Gateway, remarkable for its ‘squared stones.’

A large brewery, and many stables for horses.

These he erected from their foundations to their completion.”⁴⁴

As I am not in this lecture dealing with the buildings of the monastery generally, the only structure calling for remark is the Campanarium or Bell-tower. I see no reason for supposing it to be a detached building, and as one only is mentioned, it seems to me reasonable to suppose it formed a central tower to the church. It was frequently the case that the tower was left to the last, and as may be seen in numerous examples, the

(43). The last line of his treatise runs “Habet enim hoc proprium, ut quanquam laudanda faciat, landari tamen erubescat. Finito Libro, &c. (M.S. fol. 18b. Hearne, p. 122.) Abbot Henry was appointed in 1126, and this treatise, which was probably sent to the Abbey about 1130, is inscribed to him.

(44). *Adam of Domerham* (Hearne's ed.), p. 316.

upper stages of the tower are of a later style and date than the lower.

There can be little doubt that the new cloisters, with the chapter-house, refectory, and dormitory, &c., on three sides and with the recently-built church on the fourth, were erected much upon the same site as had been occupied by the former cloisters existing in Thurstan's time, though possibly larger in extent. Their site now is occupied by the orchard, and so far as I understand even the foundations are not to be traced.

The successor of Henry of Blois in 1171, a certain Prior of Winchester, Robert by name, is not recorded to have done any work to the church. On his death, in 1178, the Abbey remained in the hands of the King, Henry II. Some few years after, having occasion to transact some business at the court of Rome (so Adam of Domerham writes),⁴⁵ and finding a certain Peter de Marci of great service to him, he put the Abbey into his charge. Peter de Marci was very anxious that the monks should elect him as their abbot, but he could not succeed in satisfying them. It was during this vacancy that the fire broke out, which destroyed all the buildings which had been erected. It will be well however before speaking of what the fire did to say something as to the state of the church as it then stood.

Description of the Church before the Fire, 1184.

Following so closely in the wake of Canterbury, and with such resources as is betokened by the chronicler saying that Herlewin did not consider the previous church to be worthy of the revenues of the abbey, I cannot think Glastonbury was inferior in work or size to Canterbury Cathedral of that date, and as there is no evidence to the contrary, it seems to me it is only right to assume that it occupied much the same site as the present building. I mean the building of which we

(45). *Ad. of D.*, p. 332.

have the few remains. Following the ordinary course I should expect the central tower to be the portion most likely to be constant. Some few churches have been elongated westward; most have been elongated eastward by successive builders, but I cannot call to mind any case in which there is evidence of a central tower having been shifted. The reason of the site of the tower being retained is obvious in all ordinary cases; namely that while the choir is being rebuilt the nave is used for the services, and while the nave is being rebuilt the congregation use the choir. Now if we measure from a point directly in the centre of the space beneath the tower and carry the line to the west end of this church, we find the distance to be 210 feet. Taking the same measurement at Canterbury we find it to be 230 feet; but that distance includes the space between the two towers, which probably in Lanfranc's and Anselm's churches was separated off from the nave by an arch. Hence the nave in each would be of about the same length.

When we measure the width between the two side walls I find Glastonbury about 72 feet and Canterbury 75 feet. At Canterbury some of Lanfranc's walls remain though concealed by later facing, and a good deal of Anselm's walls also. Here however at Glastonbury not a vestige remains. Still I think we may fairly conclude from analogy that the nave of the old church before the fire was as long as the remains shew the church built after the fire to have been, and I see no reason to suppose it longer. Therefore it follows that the present church not only would occupy the same site, but probably also was of the same extent as the ancient church, the cloisters being retained in the same position.

Before coming to the account of the fire, I would say a few words as to the objects which the old church seems to have contained worthy of note. The records are so few that it is impossible to attempt a picture of it as a whole, but they help somewhat to give a slight idea of its interest. First I would mention the ancient altar in front of, or rather over which

there was carving or painting of the three first abbots with their names, viz., Worgret, Lademund, and Bregoret, and to this William of Malmesbury appeals as evidence of the great antiquity of the foundation.⁴⁶ This was probably the high altar, and it was the same altar perhaps which was ornamented so handsomely by Abbot Brithwin before he was elected Bishop of Wells in 1027, with panels of elaborate gold and silver work inlaid in ivory.⁴⁷

Two or three crucifixes are also incidentally mentioned, but the chronicler does not generally describe where they stood. King Edgar before his death (A.D. 975) is recorded to have made a present of a handsome crucifix "over the high altar."⁴⁸ There was the figure of our Lord also which the young monk Ailsi passed by several times without making due reverence to it, and which, when at last he did make it, spoke as if it had a human voice—*Nu to late Aylsi ; Nu to late!*⁴⁹ and there was the image of the Virgin which, when everything was burnt around, remained entire, and even the veil not burnt, though the heat blistered the face as if it had been human.⁵⁰ A third image mentioned however seems to have stood in the refectory and not in the church, but this was as remarkable as the others, inasmuch as when Abbot Dunstan and King Edgar were sitting at table, it shook off its crown, so that the crown fell between them. Dunstan took it as a warning not to do what he was then purposing in his mind to do. Lastly there was the image with the mark of the arrow or arrows, to which reference has already been made, whence the blood flowed during the ritual riot.⁵¹ Possibly this was the same as that

(46). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 48. The description however is obscure—"Nomina illorum et dignitates in Majori Ecclesia, prodente secus altare picturâ, sunt in propatulo." It may have been a kind of reredos.

(47). "Fecit tabulam ante altare, auro et argento et ebore polimitam et crucem." W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 87.

(48). W. of M., p. 86, "Fecit crucem super majus altare."

(49). *Ibid.*, p. 38.

(50). *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(51). *Ibid.*, p. 38 and p. 115. William of Malmesbury's story differs, as I have said, from the English version already told, in that it would appear to have been moveable and not fixed, and that only one arrow is related to have pierced it, and not several. See note, *ante*, p. 47.

over the high Altar, which Edgar had given. There are, of course, numerous references to silver images and the like, but I do not note them, as they do not affect the fabric.

But the glory of this church of Glastonbury was that it contained the tombs of three English kings, the first King Edmund, King Edgar, and King Edmund Ironside. There can be no doubt as to the fact of the Abbey Church holding the mortal remains of these kings, whatever may be said of their possessing the remains of King Arthur.

As regards King Edmund, who died A.D. 946, though the Saxon chronicles do not actually state that he was buried at Glastonbury, still under that year they tell us how Liofa stabbed him at Pucklechurch (in Gloucestershire, but close to the borders of Somerset, and one of the possessions of Glastonbury) on S. Augustine's Mass Day. Florence of Worcester, however (possibly on the authority of one of the chronicles now lost), adds that he was carried to Glastonbury and buried by S. Dunstan. Under a previous year, viz. 945, the chronicles refer to Edmund's regard for Glastonbury where it is stated that he "delivered Glastonbury to S. Dunstan, where he afterwards became first abbot."⁵² William of Malmesbury definitely records that "he lies buried at Glastonbury, on the left side, in the tower of the larger church."⁵³

Of King Edgar's place of burial, A.D. 975, the copies of the existing Saxon chronicles are silent. Florence of Worcester, however, under his account of the death (mainly taken from the chronicles) adds, "And his body was brought to Glastonbury and there entombed in a royal manner."⁵⁴ William of Mal-

(52). The expression "first abbot," in the chronicles, may have given rise to the supposition that Dunstan founded Glastonbury, a view which William of Malmesbury takes the trouble to refute. Hearne's ed. p. 71.

(53). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 75. It probably means on the north side of the centre of the cross, between that and the north transept, *i.e.*, on the left side of any one facing the high Altar. The words "In turri ecclesiæ majoris," need not, I think, imply that the tower was a separate building, but would bear to be translated "in the cross or transept," which may be understood as comprising the whole space between the north and south walls.

(54). *Florence of Worc.*, sub anno, and most of the later chronicles.

mesbury tells us "he was buried in the chapter-house at the door of the church," but that afterwards "he was translated."⁵⁵ I can suggest no reason why he should have been buried here, except that the church might have been at that time undergoing repairs and not sufficiently completed, and to this I have already referred in discussing what was the state of the church when Thurstan was appointed Abbot.⁵⁶

Of the translation here referred to we have a description; though it does not help us, unfortunately, in obtaining information as to the arrangement of the church, still the incident is a curious one. William of Malmesbury (if the passage be his) gives us details of the manner in which, because the grave was too small to get at the body easily, one of the workmen sacrilegiously used an iron implement to it (a pickaxe probably). Indeed, it is implied that the miseries which fell upon Glastonbury during the tenure of Abbots Egelward and Egelnoth (1027-53 and 1053-77) were due to this infamous act.⁵⁷ There is something awkward as to the record of the date when this translation is made to take place. William of Malmesbury places it under Egelnoth, but says that it happened forty years after Edgar's death—which calculation would bring us to 1015, that is some years before either of the Abbots were appointed; and on the other hand, when we turn to John of Glastonbury, he puts the translation under Abbot Egelward, and, giving no reason for the date, fixes it at A.D. 1052, the year before that abbot's death.⁵⁸ We are therefore without any grounds for discussing what the probable circumstances were which brought about the translation. It seems the body was not put into another tomb, but "the royal bones" were put into a shrine and placed upon the altar, together with the head of S. Apollinaris, and the relics of S. Vincent. And at the same time

(55). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 87.

(56). See note on the question of repairs by Dunstan, *ante*, p. 45.

(57). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 90. "Ausus facinus auditu, nedum actu grave."

(58). *John of Glaston.*, p. 153.

they put the remains of the Abbot Egelward, who had succeeded Dunstan, into the empty tomb. There is a good deal of inconsistency in many points, and I am rather inclined to think that it is a later interpolation, when it was needed to support the authority of the relics which were exhibited in the shrine, and to give a circumstantial account of how and when they were placed there.

Of the third king whose burial honoured Glastonbury Abbey (A.D. 1016), Edmund Ironside, we have it recorded in the same chronicle that—"Then at S. Andrew's Mass (Nov. 13) died King Eadmund. And his body lies at Glastonbury, with his grandfather, Eadgar." And the Glastonbury record tells us that "he received burial in front of the high altar."⁵⁹

We thus have three kings buried here in the seventy years, 946-1016. No kings have been buried here since, but to say that none were buried here before, would be rash, with the not improbable inscription to King Kentwine; and perhaps treasonable with the legend of King Arthur, so closely interwoven into the history of the place, and the occasion of the royal visit of King Edward and his Queen, when the bones were duly labelled by royal authority.

As regards this first period, we have but few records of the burial of abbots, but what there are suggest one or two points as to the arrangements of the building. The first tomb noticed is that of Abbot Tica. He had come from the north in A.D. 754, and was supposed to have brought a very large number of relics with him, such as of Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, of Ceolfred, and Benedict, Abbots of Wearmouth, and of nearly all the other saints found mentioned in Bede's history, and even the bones of the venerable Bede himself: "When he died, he had his tomb in the corner of the 'Ecclesia Major,' close by the entrance into the 'Ecclesia Vetusta.' And it was remarkable both for its size and the skill displayed in the vaulting."⁶⁰ The addition of these words seems to show it was standing at

(59). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 88.

(60). W. of M., *De Antiq.*, p. 29.

the time William of Malmesbury's treatise was written, and therefore was preserved throughout the successive churches of Dunstan and Edgar, of Thurstan and of Herlewin. Elsewhere in his treatise William of Malmesbury says: "Where he and his companions were buried this epitaph testifies, and I have not neglected to copy it;" and after it he says "that if any one tries to remove the tomb he is struck with blindness."⁶¹

I have already referred to this tomb in speaking of the probabilities of the extent of the larger church in reference to the space between it and the "*Vetusta Ecclesia*." Everything depends upon the meaning attached to the word "entrance" (*introitus*). If it necessarily means a doorway, then it must follow that the western wall of the original church and the eastern wall of S. Mary's Church were much closer together than the western wall of the existing church and that of S. Joseph's Chapel are now. But I think the word may fairly bear a meaning which we should express by the word "passage." But then, as to what buildings were connected with this "passage," and in what manner it joined S. Mary's Church—whether the entrance was by a doorway at the east end or not,—I have no grounds whatever for offering any opinion.

William of Malmesbury does not mention the tomb of Stiwerd, elected Abbot probably about 890 (though there is some confusion in the chronology at this time), but he notices that his figure is always to be seen accompanied by a whip or a birch; whence he ventures to estimate his character.⁶²

And now we come to the tomb of Dunstan: not that he was originally buried here, but as it was very important to have his relics, the story ran that they were stolen from Canterbury, after the attack by the Danes upon S. Alphage, A.D. 1012. I do not attribute any of the three or four chapters in the *De Antiquitate Glastoniæ* (for it is a long story in all) to William of Malmesbury, but all to the interpolator. Their possession of the body, however, has been the occasion of much

(61). W. of M., p. 63.

(62). W. of M., p. 71.

dispute,⁶³ and there is as much ingenuity displayed, to my mind, in the story of their hiding the body and finding it again as in that of their having stolen it at all.

The latter story told is this:—For fear of it being stolen back again, the grave was made very secretly, and the secret was always kept by one monk only, and when dying, he was by arrangement to select some trustworthy successor to whom to disclose it. After a general explanation to the above effect, the account of the burial of the relics is thus given: “Two (who had charge of the matter) take a wooden coffin, suitably prepared for the purpose, and paint it on the inside, and on the right side they put an *S.* and on the left a *D.*, intending that they should stand for the name of Sanctus Dunstanus. Putting the relics into this coffin, they bury it beneath a stone, taken out for the purpose, in ‘the Larger Church,’ by the side of the Holy Water Stoup, on the right hand side of *the entrance of the monks*: every body else was ignorant of the place altogether. There *for a hundred and seventy years* it lay, the secret being committed only to one at a time, according to the manner arranged.”⁶⁴

We then have a rather pretty story: how a young monk wheedled the secret from his master, who happened to be the trusted holder of it at the time.⁶⁵ And the young monk told it

(63). As late as 1508, a scrutiny was made of the genuine relics at Canterbury, in order to show that the Glastonbury relics were false. The correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] and the Abbot of Glastonbury [Beere] will be found printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 227-233. See also Eadmer's letter, written, as the internal evidence implies, about the year 1124, and in which he ridicules the Glastonbury story of the theft of the body of S. Dunstan. *Ibid*, p. 220.

(64). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 36. It seems the “translation” (as the pretended theft was called) was made in 1012, that is the second year after the murder of Abp. Alphege, and the 24th after the death of Dunstan. *Ibid*, p. 34. As the writer says they lay there for 170 years, the date of his writing must be after 1182. In fact, it shews that this, like numerous passages in this treatise of William of Malmesbury, has been interpolated some time after his death.

(65). As the story is told, the old man is made only to reveal the secret enigmatically in these words: “Fili mi dilectissime, non ingredieris Ecclesiam, aqua benedicta te aspersurus, quin lapidem vestibus tuis contingas, sub quo reconduntur, quæ requiris. Sed de hoc amplius nihil me pulses, sed audita mente tacita sagacique pertracta.” W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 37.

to others, and so it happened that after the fire the secret was known, or otherwise it would have been lost altogether. Of course, eventually, everything was found as described—the inside of the coffin being painted in azure and vermilion colours. The entrance referred to was probably on the south side of the church, as the monks would enter ordinarily from the cloister.

There are records of three other abbots and one monk having been buried here. "In 1034 died Brihtwi, Bishop of Wells and Abbot of Glastonbury. He lies on the north side in the Apsidal Chapel (porticus) of S. John the Baptist."⁶⁶ Next Brihtwald, who, from being a monk at Glastonbury, was promoted to a bishoprick, and who died in 1045, and "was buried with Brihtwin on the northern side."⁶⁷

We have also the note that Abbot Herlewin, on his death, in 1120, "was buried next to Thurstan, in S. Andrew's" [? Apse].⁶⁸ I have no authority for saying that this was the name of the apsidal chapel on the east side of the south transept, but I venture to think it would be so. There must have been an apsidal chapel on the south side of the church to answer to that on the north, and I find no other saint named to whom to ascribe the altar in it. And that two of the abbots should be buried in one transept, and two in the other seems very probable.

And lastly there is the record of the death of Abbot Robert, the last of the abbots before the fire, viz., 1178. He was buried in the Chapter House, on the south side. No reason is given for this, yet there must have been room for more tombs either in the north or south transept.

(66). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 94. The word "Porticus" must signify apse here, though it has different meanings in other places. It was probably on the east side of the north transept.

(67). Ibid, p. 95. He was Bishop of Salisbury, p. 94 (Ramsbury), 1005-45.

(68). Ibid, p. 118. "Sepultus est juxta Turstinum ad Sanctum Andream." If it had been that Brihtwin was so buried, I should have understood that it was S. Andrew's Church of Wells which was meant. But I cannot see any reason why Thurstan and Herlewin should be buried at Wells, and therefore an altar or chapel must have been so dedicated at Glastonbury.

Beyond the above list of burials I have not observed in the records preserved by the three local historians, William of Malmesbury, Adam of Domerham, or John of Glastonbury, a notice of any others of importance which belonged to the old church. But from other sources I find the following, which may be noted, though no information is given as to the portion of the building in which their bodies were deposited. They may indeed have had only a resting-place in the cemetery.

“A.D. 867. In this same year died Eanulf, Ealdorman of the shire of Somerset and the body of the said ealdorman lies in the monastery which is called Glastonbury.”⁶⁹

“A.D. 971. The same year died Alfeag, Ealdorman of Southants, and he was buried at Glastonbury.”⁷⁰

“A.D. 1033. In this year died Merewhit, Bishop of Somerset, and he was buried at Glastonbury.”⁷¹

These are all the historical notes which I can glean bearing upon the church, which whatever its origin, whether first built by Ine or not, however restored and enlarged under Dunstan or Edgar, was practically no doubt rebuilt by Thurstan, and again rebuilt by Herlewin, and last of all destroyed by the fire in the year 1184.

The great Fire of 1184.

Here is the brief account of the fire given by Adam of Domerham :—

“In the following summer, that is to say on S. Urban’s day, (May 25, 1184) the whole of the monastery, except a chamber with its chapel constructed by Abbot Robert (1171-78), into which the monks afterwards betook themselves, and the *Bell tower*, built by Bishop Henry, was consumed by FIRE.”⁷²

(69). “Dux provincie Sumerseton.” Ethelwerdi Chronicon, *Sub anno*.

(70). “Suthantunensium Dux.” Florence of Worcester, *Sub anno*.

(71). Merehwit biscop on Sumersæton. Saxon Chronicles, *Sub anno*. He was Bp. of Wells, 1027-33, and succeeded Brihtwi, mentioned just above. But there is a curious confusion in the chronicle of the Bishop’s, given by the Canon of Wells [Wharton A.S.I. 558]. He puts under Merewhit “qui et Brihtwinus dictus.”

(72). *Adam of Domerham*, (Hearne), p. 333.

And here I would remark that still once again the story of Glastonbury seems to follow in the wake of that of Canterbury. As regards the latter Gervase (an eye witness of what he describes) writes "In the year 1174 by the just but occult judgment of God the church of Christ at Canterbury was consumed by fire in the forty-fourth year from its dedication." At this point however, the resemblance to Canterbury, as we shall presently see, ceases.

It is not very clear at first sight how it comes that a whole monastery should be destroyed by fire. We associate in our minds with these structures nothing but lofty and massive walls, which in some cases we know have stood erect through several fires. But there was besides, as there are now in many of our towns, a quantity of wooden and plastered buildings, which were sufficient to supply the fuel for carrying on the work of devastation from building to building. One would have expected that with little trouble a fire could have been confined to the church, if it had broken out there; or if in the dormitory or refectory, it could have been confined to the cloisters. But the appliances were few for extinguishing the flames, and as a rule the wind carried the burning rafters from roof to roof. The scene at Canterbury, as witnessed by Gervase, in the afternoon of Sept. 5, 1174, may well have repeated itself here ten years later. "While a south wind was blowing furiously, beyond all human experience, a fire broke out before the gate of the church and *outside the walls* of the courtyard, by which three cottages were half destroyed. From these, while the citizens were assembling and attempting to put out the fire, burning rafters and sparks were carried by the high wind and deposited upon the church, and through the force of the wind got in between the joints of the lead, and settled upon the decayed boards. Presently as the heat increased the rotten rafters catch alight. Then the larger beams with their purlines catch fire, no one perceiving it or coming to help But as the beams and their purlines ignited the flames shot

up into the top of the roof, and the sheets of lead not being able longer to withstand such heat, began by degrees to melt. The raging wind then, finding a freer access, drove in the flames so that they ranged the whole length. And suddenly when the flames began to shew themselves a cry arose from the churchyard, Oh! Oh! the church is on fire."⁷³ And the further details go on to show how they failed to stop the flames when once they had got hold of the roof.

Thus it is easy to understand how in the same manner at Glastonbury the great church, as well as the 'vetusta ecclesia,' the cloisters, with chapter-house, dormitory and refectory, the abbot's chambers, and all the offices belonging to the several departments, yielded one after the other to the flames. Only a new chamber, which had just been built, with its chapel (possibly because it was isolated, in consequence of some of the buildings having been pulled down to make way for new work), and the great bell-tower remained. No wonder we find words of heartfelt lament. The writer, probably Adam of Domerham himself, says:—"The beautiful buildings lately erected by Henry of Blois, and the church, a place so venerated by all, and the shelter of so many saints, are reduced to a heap of ashes! What groans, what tears, what complaints arose as they saw what had happened and pondered over the loss they had suffered. The confusion into which their relics were thrown, the loss of treasure, not only in gold and silver, but in stuffs and silks, in books and the rest of the ornaments of the church, must even provoke to tears, and justly so, those who far away do but hear of these things."

The Foundation of the New Church, erected soon after the fire of 1184.

The Abbey, as we have said, was in the king's hands, though in charge of Peter de Marci; but before the end of the year De Marci died. The king, however, according to our au-

(73). "Gervasius de combustione et reparatione Dorobernensis ecclesiæ." Twysden D.S. col. 1289.

thority, "had compassion upon the monks in their calamity, and committed the care of the Abbey to the custody of his chamberlain, a certain Ralph Fitz-Stephen, on the condition that the monks taking only sufficient for their maintenance, should spend the whole of what remained of their revenue in repairing their buildings and constructing their church."

But the king did more than this. At the end of the year he issued a charter, the substance of which was, to the effect that besides confirming all previous liberties to the monks, and granting them others, he practically made himself responsible for the cost of the church. The charter is worth attention. It begins:

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, etc., to my Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, etc., etc. 'That which a man sows, that also shall he reap.' I, laying the foundation of the church of Glastonbury, which whilst it was in my hands was burnt by fire and reduced to ashes, have determined to repair it, to be completed either by myself or my heirs: by the will of God, and at the instance of Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem; of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury; of Richard, Bishop of Winchester; of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter; of Ralph de Granvill, with many others, etc."

The charter then introduces a recital of some of the ancient Glories of Glastonbury, mentioning the early kings (King Arthur included, for already the romance had been fitted to Glastonbury). And then follow the liberties and grants, which I need not here detail. The following lines, however, show the spirit by which King Henry was actuated:

"But chiefly that the town of Glastonbury, in which the 'Vetusta Ecclesia' of the Mother of God is situated, which is truly reckoned to be the source and origin of all religion in England, should be free above others, together with its islands, etc."

Now the charter is not dated, but by attending to the signatures, which are mainly a repetition of the names already

given, with some few others, we arrive at the date within very few weeks.

Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, had already come to England as an embassy, to offer the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Henry, though I cannot find the exact date of his arrival. The meeting at Reading, where his message was formally delivered, was not till the January of the following year. But the name of Archbishop Baldwin is of some importance as to date, and is of historical interest. The great dispute concerning the appointing of Baldwin (the Bishop of Worcester) to the See of Canterbury occupies several pages of Gervase's chronicle, and is referred to by several other historians. After a conference at Reading, on August 4th, 1184, at Windsor on Dec. 23rd, the discussion was adjourned to London for S. Andrew's day (Nov. 30th). It appears, while the discussion was going on (and it lasted some few days), the prior and monks who laid claim to the appointment and had elected some one else, heard suddenly the *Te Deum* being sung, for the rival candidate elected by the suffragan bishops. As I understand it, the date of the election was practically Advent Sunday, Dec. 2nd, 1184, and before that day Baldwin could not have signed as Archbishop of Canterbury. Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, who also signs the same document, died Dec. 17th, 1184, and consequently the date is comprised within that fortnight.

I should expect that the commencement of the new buildings must be dated from this time. Till this charter was obtained, the monks would have scarcely done more than cleared out some of the ruins, and covered in temporarily just sufficient of the walls left standing to house themselves. This charter being obtained, no doubt they set to work, and as I have already said, the Church of S. Mary (that is, what has come afterwards to be known as S. Joseph's Chapel) was the first erected, and completed speedily—possibly by June 11th, 1186; more probably by the same day in 1187.

I have said that after the fire the history of Glastonbury

ceases to follow that of Canterbury. At the latter, and, indeed, in most other great churches, the work of building and rebuilding was gradual. Funds were a great difficulty, and consequently a portion only was built at a time, and even then what was useful was kept standing. Nave and chancel are not often of the same date, but each may contain portions of earlier work. Here circumstances were different from what they were in such cases as I speak of, since they had the king's order. The revenues of the monastery were large, and when they failed the king supplied money from his treasury. Here, then, was an opportunity of carrying on the work, after what may be called a royal manner; and it seems to me highly probable that the Church of S. Mary being complete, the architect swept away *all* of the "Great Church," intending to build one of one style from end to end, as was done at Salisbury some thirty years afterwards, where there was a clear space, and no buildings whatever to trammel the architect's design.

The words of the record are few, and not very explicit. They are:

"He [*i.e.*, Fitz-Stephen] repaired all the offices, and afterwards laying the foundations of a most beautiful church, carried them to the length of four hundred feet, and to the width of eighty feet. Pressing on rapidly with the work, he spared no expense. What he could not obtain from [the revenues of] Glastonbury, that the royal bounty supplied. In the foundations of this church were put, as well, the stones of that vast Palace built by Abbot Henry, [1126-71] as those of the wall surrounding the court. Building, then, a good part of the church, he would have completed the rest, if God had prolonged the king's life. But, alas, covetous and too ready, Death snatched him away, and so inflicted another wound upon the monks, who were only just recovering from their last misfortune.⁷⁵ . . . King Henry died on the 6th July, 1189."⁷⁶

(75). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 335.

(76). *Ibid.*, p. 340.

We gather that at this time Ralph Fitz-Stephen, to whom had been committed the charge of the buildings, died also, and he may very well himself have been the designer of this vast building, of 400 feet in length.

Had Adam of Domerham been living at the time, his few notes would have been of great value; but as he did not write till 1280-90, and as these events happened long before he was born, it is probable that he only obtained his information from such general statements as the registers afforded, or such stories as tradition had handed down. So we must not attach too much importance to such expressions as, "He built a large part of the church;" or that the "stones of the Bishop's Palace, were laid in the foundation." The chronicler would be anxious to attribute as much as possible to Ralph, and the using up the palace stones might be introduced rather to convey the idea of how entire the destruction had been, than as the copy of a recorded fact.

The works of the Church are stopped, 1189.

On King Henry's death all the work appears to have ceased, "King Richard's mind," as the chronicler puts it, "was more directed to military matters than to going on with the building which was begun; so the work was stopped, because there was no one to pay the wages of the workmen."⁷⁷

But it seems also that the cessation of King Henry's subsidy to the building, and the death of Fitz-Stephen, was not the worst part. So far as I can read between the lines of the bitter complaints which the monks make, the revenues of Glastonbury were simply perverted to subsidise the See of Wells when Savaric was elected.

At first Henry of Souilly (de Soliaco), of royal blood, was appointed to the Abbacy, but after a couple of years he was translated to the See of Worcester, and the revenues, above and beyond what were necessarily for the subsistence of the

(77). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 341.

monks, were, in spite of all resistance, as I have said, appropriated by his successor, the Bishop of Wells.

During the short rule of Abbot Henry of Souilly there seems to have been some attempt to create an interest in Glastonbury, and so, perhaps, obtain help for its buildings, by 'discovering' the bones of King Arthur, unless, indeed, the record of the 'discovery' is as fictitious as the burial itself. Adam of Domerham, in his chronicle, after the paragraphs recording that King Richard appointed Henry of Souilly Abbot, inserts a short chapter, "De Translatione Arthuri;" and either from the same, or from some other source, Matthew Paris has fixed the exact date as 1191. It is quite possible that some ceremony of the kind was got up, as the story of King Arthur was a popular one, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's semi-historical romance was as much sought after, in comparison with more sober works, as a popular novel of the day is now. This is shown by the large number of the MSS. of his book existing.⁷⁸ But the circumstances connected with the discovery of the bones belong rather to the legendary than to the architectural history of the Abbey.⁷⁹

Another feeble attempt on the part of the monks is recorded at this time by Adam de Domerham, to go on with their church, but it does not appear to have been in the least successful. He writes :

"The said abbot in no way whatever would lend a helping hand to the work which had been begun, wherefore the monks, anxious about their building, sent out preachers through the provinces with relics and indulgences, and strove by these

(78). The twelfth century copies existing of the MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth exceed by far those of any other twelfth century writer.

(79). If one could fix the date of the narrative given by Leland in the *Assertio Arturii* (p. 55), as to their removal, it would be worth considering the description of the spot to which they were translated. The passage runs : There is an apse on the south, and a chapel—where there is a way to the almonry ("Porticus ad meridiem est, et Sacellum, quo iter in gazophylacium"). But in 1191 the old church was in ruins, and the new church not built. Hence, any argument from the passage is very unsatisfactory.

means to obtain, somehow, out of charity, enough to carry on the work.”⁸⁰

The character of this abbot is best shown by the circumstance of the trouble he took to obtain from Pope Celestin the privilege of wearing the mitre and ring—not but that this would have been honorable to the Abbey in days of its prosperity, but with its church probably only a few feet from the ground, it seems to show that the abbot was thinking more of himself and his own glory than the glory of the Abbey.

But as soon as Abbot Henry was translated to Worcester things went from bad to worse. It would be quite out of place here to describe the several phases of the controversy; the appointment by the monks of their own abbot (William Pyke), and the excommunication pronounced by the bishop; the seizure of the messengers sent by the monks, and the actually breaking down of the gates of the monastery, when the bishop entered by force, and the Abbey being put under interdict. All this, however, is graphically told by the chronicler. And then follow the long contentions and the compromises during King John's reign, and the series of ‘agreements,’ ending in the Monastery being mulcted in a large part of its property. These events bring us to the reign of Henry III, at the beginning of which matters seem to have begun to settle down. But they so far bear upon the history of the buildings that we may be almost sure that no funds were forthcoming for building purposes during the continuance of these disputes, and that the foundations and walls, so far as they were erected, remained all this time exactly as Fitz-Stephen had left them.

In the year 1218, the final agreement appears to have been signed; and in 1219 the monks were allowed to elect their Abbot, namely, William Vigor, on the eve of S. Benedict (Jan. 11). He was Abbot for five years, but I find no mention whatever of anything he did, directly or indirectly,

connected with the building of the church. The usual summary of the benefits which he conferred on the monastery is given, and it begins—"In the first place he improved the beer."⁸¹

I think we may conclude, too, that no progress had been made with the church, for on his death, in 1223, he was buried in the chapter house, on the north side. Robert of Bath, the next Abbot, seems to have fallen into difficulties, and after eleven years retired, and the monks allowed him sixty pounds a year pension. All this points to their being very poor.⁸²

The Work of Rebuilding goes on, 1235.

During all their troubles with Savaric and Jocelin, the successive Bishops of Wells, the abbey property was no doubt let out on leases on lives, and so their annual income was small; but it seems that in 1235 they appointed a man of considerable business qualifications, named Michael of Ambresbury. During the eighteen years of his rule, he is recorded not only to have cleared the Abbey of its difficulties, but to have left it in a flourishing condition. There is no mention of his going on with the church, but there is of his "applying his mind sedulously to the question of building;" and it is recorded that altogether, within and without the monastery, he erected one hundred houses from their foundation.⁸³ It is not likely but that some masons were employed upon the church, and I expect that his tenure of the Abbacy marks the date of the taking up again of the work of the great church, though there were but little funds as yet to expend upon it. He retired in 1252 to the Manor House of Mere, but the

(81). "Imprimis, ad emendacionem cerevisiæ, singulis bracinis, dimidium summam frumenti, et dimidium summam avenæ." *Adam of Dom.*, p. 476. I see he also 'redeemed' the porter's lodge (Portarium) from a certain Walter, who had been porter of the Abbey, and restored it to the purposes of the Monastery. This shows into what an impecunious state the Abbey had fallen.

(82). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 502.

(83). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 505.

monks provided him also with chambers at Glastonbury, and also with full allowance of food for himself and servant, and one hundred and sixty pounds besides; so fully did they desire to recognize the services he had rendered them. He had been Abbot eighteen years, and only lived a year after his retirement. Neither Adam of Domerham, nor John of Glastonbury, mention his burial; but when Leland visited the church, before the Dissolution, he records the tomb with the epitaph, beginning—"Qui serpentinās fraudes et vinclā resolvit," as then standing in the north transept, together with two other Abbots of later date.

Abbot Roger Forde, who succeeded him, seems not to have done anything to win the praise of the chronicler, but rather the contrary. His burial is duly mentioned, but it was not in the Abbey, for, dying while he was on a visit to the Bishop of Rochester, his body was carried to Westminster.

Robert Petherton was appointed in 1260, and he seems to have worked very successfully in looking after the property of the Abbey, and obtaining instruments of confirmation, etc., besides, as I understand it, considerable accessions. No notice—as, indeed, it is not to be expected—is taken of any work which he did to the church. Adam of Domerham, however, gives an account of his death in 1274, and mentions his own name as amongst those present at the funeral, so that we may rely upon his statement. The following remark is important:

"On the Thursday following [his death] his body was buried by the neighbouring priors and abbots who had been invited for the purpose, and lies before the *Altar of S. Thomas the Martyr*, on the left hand of Abbot Michael."⁸⁴

Now Leland gives his epitaph next to that of Michael Ambresbury, beginning: "Liberat oppressos Pedreton ab ære alieno;" and both as existing in what he describes as "In transepto Ecclesie in Boreali parte." Two things, I think, are involved

in these considerations ; the first, that the altar in the north transept was dedicated to Saint Thomas, still at that time very popular ; the second, that the north transept was at this date (1274) sufficiently advanced to have an altar dedicated, and to receive the tombs of two of the abbots.

There was again a dispute as to the election of the next abbot, John of Taunton ; but though the first election was quashed, after several pages of ‘*Compositions*,’ between Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John of Taunton, Abbot of Glastonbury, and certain ‘*Concordiæ finales*,’ and ‘*Letters Patent*,’ we find that finally, on S. Barnabas’s Day, 1274, he is declared duly elected.

The event of his tenure of office was the visit of Edward I, with his Queen, to Glastonbury. Adam of Domerham, being present, has handed down a very full account of the proceedings. They came the Wednesday before Easter, April 13th, 1278, and were joined the next day by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Passing over the details of the first few days, namely, how the archbishop consecrated the sacred oils on the Maundy Thursday (the bishop of the diocese being absent) ; how he held an ordination on the Easter Eve, and how throughout the three days he officiated Pontifically ; and how on the Easter Monday the King and Queen were present at the Assizes held in the town, we come to the Tuesday, which was the great day, when the abbot entertained the royal party, and proceeded to open the tomb of King Arthur. There were duly discovered the bones of the renowned king, and the bones of his queen, Guinevere, with the proper inscriptions. On the Wednesday—the king bearing the bones of Arthur, and the queen those of Arthur’s queen, wrapped in most precious palls—they placed the relics in a tomb (*sepulchrum*) which they had ordered to be made before the high Altar, except some few which were left outside. They duly affixed their seals to a document asserting ‘that these were the bones of King Arthur,’ with the date of the deposition in their new

resting place, viz., the 13th of the kalends of May (=April 19), 1278, and with the names of the witnesses.⁸⁵

Although we have here the high Altar named, this part of the church could not have been by any means complete. Certainly the altar was not dedicated; perhaps it was not even erected, but only its site determined. Probably workmen were cleared out, and the place was made decent, and some shelter afforded by a temporary roof, in case the day should prove stormy. It is a great pity Adam of Domerham, who was eye witness, has not handed down some more details as to the state and appearance of the building in which the proceedings took place.

We now lose our chronicler, Adam of Domerham. He ends his story with the death of Abbot John of Taunton, which took place on Michaelmas Day, 1291, on his return from the burial of Eleanor of Provence, the king's mother, at Ambresbury. He was ailing previously, but obeyed the king's desire that he should perform the funeral office. Dying at Domerham, his body was brought to Glastonbury for burial. All the chronicler says, however, is that "he was honourably buried."⁸⁶ He does not say in what part, but Leland again helps us, for he gives his epitaph next to the other two, beginning: "*Ut multo tandem sumptu multoque labore.*" So that the first three abbots who were buried at Glastonbury, after the church was commenced, were buried *in the north transept*, and we are now brought to the year 1290. I shall speak of the dedication of the church, in connection with the choir, and I shall have to

(85). Abridged from the account given by Adam of Domerham, p. 588-9. This translation of the bones of Arthur appears to have been an after-thought, as no place was prepared. It will be observed the sepulchre was ordered to be made, and, not being ready, it appears the bones were not deposited till the Wednesday, though the document bears the date of Tuesday.

(86). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 596 and last. He mentions the burial of Queen Eleanor of Castile as taking place at Westminster, on S. John's Day (Dec. 27), 1290. Afterwards he was called to assist at the ceremony of the burial of Eleanor of Provence at Ambresbury, whither she had returned. She was buried on the Feast of the Nativity (Sept. 8), consequently in 1291 (Walsingham 1292); so that John of Taunton's death—S. Michael's Day (Sept. 20)—must be 1291, and not 1290, as Adam de Domerham states.

depend upon other sources, in order to obtain the history of its progress.

But before I leave this spot I would just point out generally what it appears to me may be deduced from the documentary evidence which I have given with respect to the remains before us.

Survey of the Nave and Transepts.

As I have said, we must not expect to find any vestige whatever of the successive Norman churches. All these appear to have been absolutely and cleanly swept away in the time of Henry II, when there was every reason to suppose that, with the royal exchequer at command, a building would be erected from the ground, whole and entire, as a memorial of his piety, and as a monument of the skill in building of that century. That the building was planned with this idea is proved by the statement that the foundations were laid for a church four hundred feet long, by eighty broad—dimensions which agree very accurately with the remains.⁸⁷ From the very little which has been preserved, it is impossible to say how high the walls had reached, when Henry's death put a stop to the work. No doubt, if we had all the walls standing, we should, by observing carefully the continuity of the joints of the masonry, and by comparing large portions one with another, be able to give a tolerably sure answer to the question. As it is, our evidence is of the very slightest. A string-course moulding, at about three feet from the ground, is continued round the outside of the north transept, and again in places outside the southern wall of the choir; and still again, in a more perfect condition, along the outside of the eastern wall. It is similar to—indeed, appears to be a copy of—the external string, at the same level, round S. Joseph's Chapel; but it has not been cut by the same mould. It is possible that up to this point, at least (and per-

(87). Within the walls the measurement gives somewhat over 380 feet, and allowing for the thickness of the walls—say six feet at either end—it may be said to be a building of above 392 feet.

haps higher), Fitz-Stephen had carried his work, before the death of Henry II, and the great stoppage, which lasted for some fifty years afterwards. Still, I have nowhere detected traces of this stoppage, as I should have expected to have been able to do.

One feature, however, which is most striking in the aspect of the portion beneath which we are now standing, is that while the design generally, and the mouldings in some few instances, are in the Early English style, and the general effect produced by height and lightness marks the work to be of the thirteenth century, here and there are details—especially the zigzag mouldings—which seem to carry us back to the twelfth. From the evidence of so small a portion existing, it is dangerous to assign the reason: two, however, suggest themselves.

The first is this: I think we ought always, in judging of the date of a building by the style, to make allowance for the desire of the architect to retain continuity in his design with that which is existing already; and bearing this in mind, the following consideration must be taken into account. On the carrying up of the western wall, when the works were re-commenced in the thirteenth century, it was decided, evidently, to throw open to the rest of the Church the ‘*Vetusta Ecclesia*’—the ‘*fons et origo*’ of Christianity in this country, as it had been termed in the charter. And with so much of the marked features of the Norman style remaining, which, in themselves, in the middle of the thirteenth century, would be associated with great antiquity, the architect would be almost bound to recognize the same in designing the rest of the church, both for the sake of the continuity and harmony, as well as on account of keeping up the ancient character of the church. This would be a sufficient reason for retaining the zigzag ornament prominently in the arches in question, as well as in several other places where we find it.

But next, when we carefully examine three of the arches

which, it will be observed, are different to the rest,⁸⁸ an additional reason seems to me to suggest itself. I may be wrong, but when I look at these arches, I fancy the voussoirs were not cut for the place they occupy. There is an irregularity, due, not to decay, arising from the lapse of time, but to the irregularity of the original setting. They appear to me to have been cut for a round arch, and adapted—not very successfully—to a pointed one. Whether taken from the work of Henry of Blois—perhaps from the great tower which he had built, and which is said to have escaped the fire,—or from other buildings, is not of any moment. But it seems to me quite possible that they may have attempted to go on with the work, and, in their poverty, used whatever material they had at hand, and these three arches so repaired gave the key note, as it were, to the architect's design for the rest.

To the remains of the tower and transept arches I feel it impossible to assign an exact date. I have already implied, from historical notes, that the transepts seem to have been taken in hand before the choir, and the north transept first of all, in which the three Abbots appear to have been buried. There is nothing, so far as I can see, to militate against this, either in the style, or in the structure.

Again, the large mass of masonry still remaining on the south side of the Nave has an early look about it. It may be from the round arches, or from its massiveness, the wall being eight feet thick. It was against this, as is plainly visible on the outside, that the cloisters abutted, and that may have been a reason why it should have been erected early in the work, as the buildings round the cloisters would have been required at once by the monks. One jamb of the doorway leading to the cloisters remains. This I observe is very similar in character to the work of S. Joseph's Chapel, and therefore may

(88). On the south side, both the arch at the end of the choir aisle, as well as that opening at the side (at right angles to it), into the transept chapel, have the old zigzag. On the north side, the choir arch has the *new* zigzag—that is, similar to the advanced style ; but the arch into the north transept chapel has the old zigzag.

be the work of Fitz-Stephen; and if the upper part also belongs to his work, Fitz-Stephen's design would appear to have been generally followed throughout.

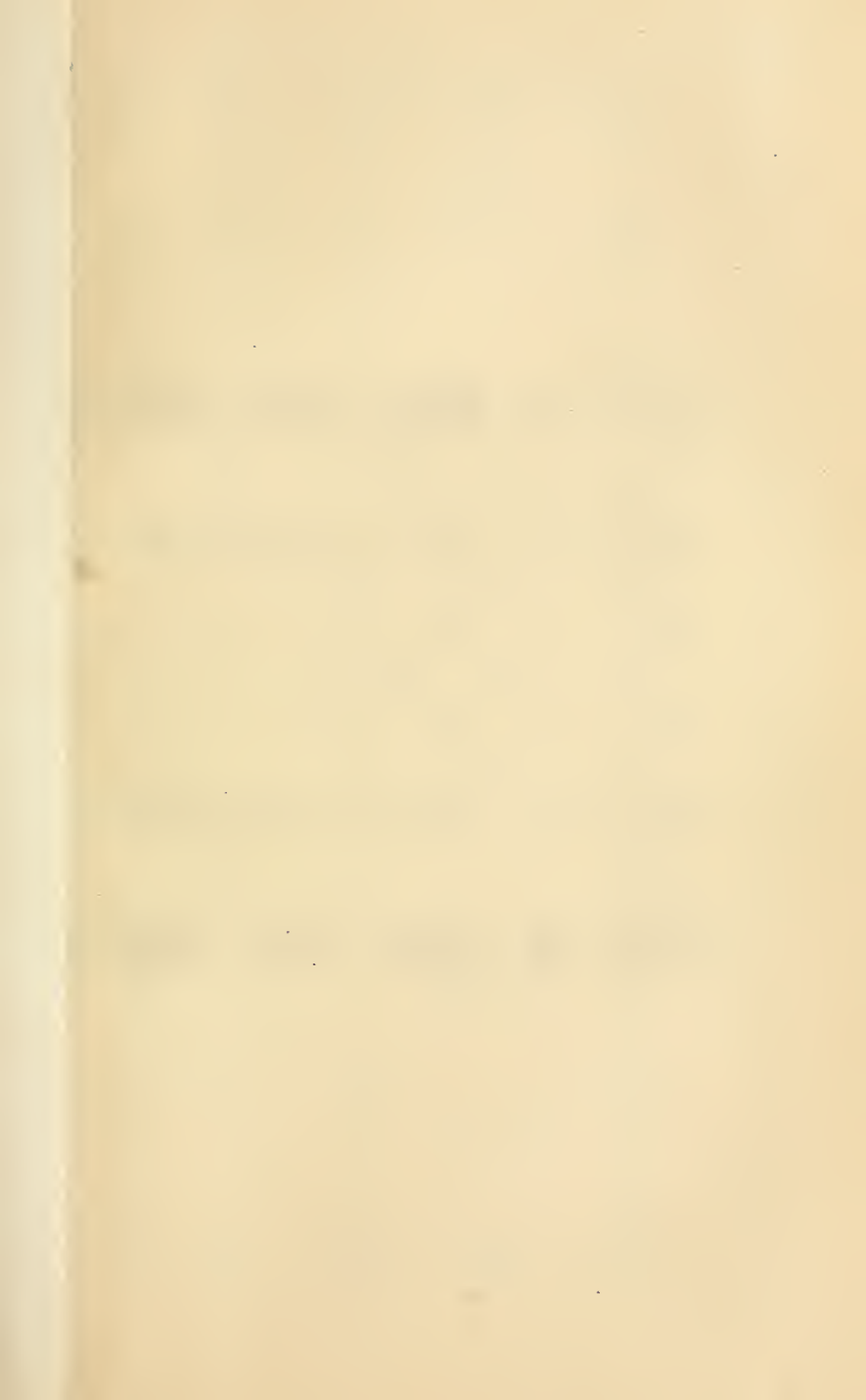
It will be seen by what remains that the nave consisted of ten bays, and the portion of wall just referred to, which consists of three bays in extent, enables us, pretty accurately, to gauge the rest, and to fix the places of the nine piers equidistant from each other between the tower piers and west wall, and supporting the ten arches on either side the nave. These two tower piers, against which the nave arches abutted, have been swept away, but the other two, namely the eastern pair, remain.

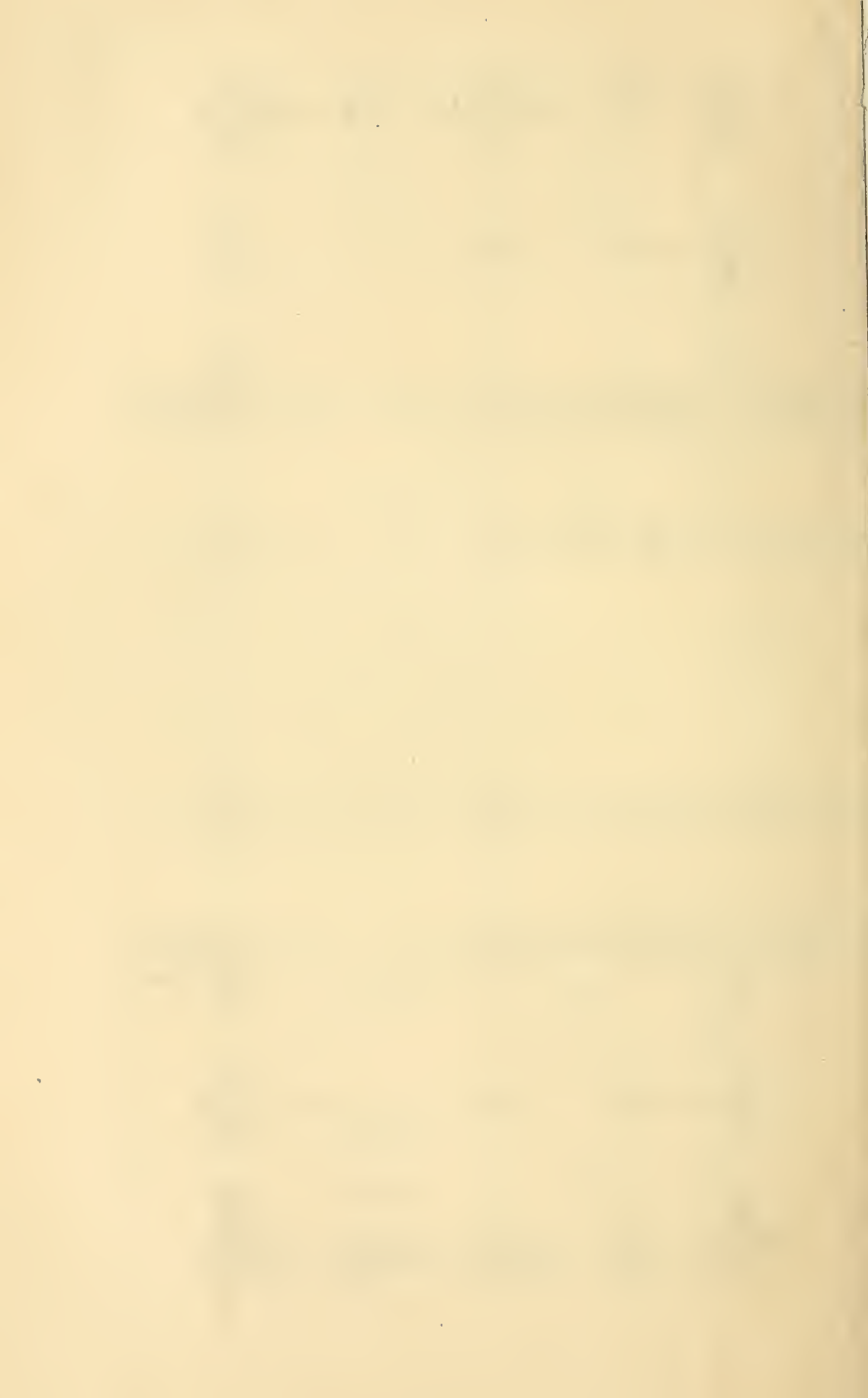
The space enclosed by the four tower-arches is about forty feet either way (measuring from a point taken in the centre of each pier). On either side are the aisles in continuation of the aisles of the nave, each twenty feet wide (measured in the same manner); and again the transepts beyond, also forty feet each, so that across the transepts, from wall to wall, we obtain a total length of about 160 feet, though the present state of the ruins will not allow of an exact measurement.

On looking at a complete plan, it will be seen that each transept was again divided into two bays, parallel with the aisles, and all these four bays were extended eastward, forming, each one, in its eastward extension, a small chapel. On the north side a portion of one of the chapels remains tolerably perfect, and the commencement of the second. On the south, only a small portion of that nearest to the choir.

At first sight the piers and arches of the tower appear complicated, but it must be born in mind, that the two piers which are left standing are the easternmost piers of the tower; and the two arches at the side, in a line with the choir walls, are arches leading out of the western bay of the choir aisles into the transept chapels of which I have spoken.

We can judge, somewhat, by the small portion remaining, of what great beauty must have been the whole: and if we examine the capital on the inner side of the large tower arch, with its





delicate carving and graceful design, we can form an idea of the rich ornamentation which has been wilfully destroyed. And as one gazes at it in its almost solitary state, but out of reach of human hands, and subject only to the rain and the frost, the snow and the wind, and all that nature can do to destroy, it seems to speak very eloquently of the cruel wrong done by man, contrasted with the gentle kindness of Time. I cannot name any place where the historical associations, both real and ideal, combined with the beauty and skill of the workmanship, of which we have this evidence, could have pleaded with greater force for the building to be spared. And yet few places have seen the destruction by the vandals of the sixteenth century, so wanton, so ruthless, and so complete. The opening words of one of the chapters in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* are brought forcibly to my mind:—"Tempus edax, homo edacior; ce que je traduirais volontiers ainsi: 'Le temps, est aveugle; l'homme, est stupide'."

III. THE CHOIR.

The third portion of the lecture was delivered on the site of the ancient choir, near the place where the high altar originally stood.

Although we lose our chronicler, Adam of Domerham, we find another who practically takes his place, and as most of the observations which I have to make relating to this part of the building are dependent on this new chronicler, namely, John of Glastonbury, I have thought it better to begin my story in this place with the accession of John de Cancia, or, as he may be called, John of Kent, the abbot elected at the date when Adam of Domerham ends his chronicle, viz., 1290.

Historical Notes.

We may gather that the church was nearing completion; we have seen that already one altar in the transept had been dedicated—possibly more than one,—and we now begin to find frequent gifts to altars chronicled, which imply the places in

existence for their reception. Although Adam of Domerham records only John of Taunton's death, John of Glastonbury tells us that he gave numerous hangings and ornaments for the altars, as well as vestments, and that he also gave a crystal cross.⁸⁹ But John of Kent's gifts are more numerous; he gives a precious cross, silver gilt and with three images; a silver holy water stoup, with a silver sprinkler; also a censer of copper gilt, with the chains of silver, and various other ornaments and vestments, implying the existence of altars already dedicated, or ready for dedication. We find from Leland that he was buried in the *north aisle of the presbytery*, shewing, I think, that the work was so far complete in this direction that a tomb might be placed there, which it seems was 'of lofty construction.'⁹⁰

The most important event however takes place during the time of his successor, named Geoffrey Fromond, who was elected on the day of S. Thomas the Martyr (Dec. 29), 1303. The same abbot, so John of Glastonbury records, 'caused the conventual Church of Glastonbury to be dedicated.'⁹¹ This is of course a landmark in the architectural history, for we have seen that between the laying of the foundations by Ralph Fitz-Stephen and this dedication, some hundred and twenty years have elapsed. It is not too much to suppose that during more than half that time the buildings were not touched, and when the work was again taken up in the middle of the thirteenth century, it went on so slowly that the fourteenth century dawned before the church was in a sufficiently forward state for the high altar to be dedicated.

(89). *John of G.*, p. 251.

(90). John of Glastonbury as a rule omits the place of burial, and we are almost entirely dependent for such notes on Leland. In Leland it runs thus: *In boreali insula, adjacenti Presbyterio Joannes de Cantia Abbas Glaston. in alto tumulo.* Brown Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeyes*, says 'he died on the eighteenth Kalends of December (Nov. 14), 1303, and was buried in a fine new tomb which he built for himself on the north side of the high altar.' This looks as if Brown Willis had had access to some other authority than any I have found.

(91). *John of G.*, p. 255.

Now that the church was so nearly complete, we are not surprised to learn that the same abbot, Geoffrey Fromond, spent a thousand pounds and more on other buildings within and without the abbey.⁹² And Leland, amongst his notes, writes: ‘Gualterus [*i.e.*, Galfridus] Fromont, abbat, began the great Haul.’⁹³ Leland gives his tomb amongst those in the *South Transept*.

Walter of Taunton, who succeeded in 1322, died a few weeks after his appointment, but he lived long enough to see the *Screen* put up (or provided the funds and gave direction for it), and it is accordingly credited to him, for John of Glastonbury gives this account of him:—“He constructed the Rood loft [pulpitum] of the church, with ten images, and erected a large cross with the Figure of our Lord and of Mary and John.”⁹⁴

Nothing remains of this screen, but on the inner faces of the two eastern tower piers there are groves and other marks which may well be those of the bonding in of the work of the screen, and the two bases are cut away. Had not Leland, however, implied that the screen work was of stone, one would from the faint traces on the piers, rather have supposed it to have been of wood. Abbot Taunton was buried, according to Leland, ‘*in the north transept*,’ but as he adds ‘before the image of our Lord crucified,’ and in connection with the note about the screen, and the ‘crucifix,’ I am inclined to think his tomb may have been beneath the arch leading to the north transept.

Adam of Sodbury was elected on February 5, 1323, and the record tells us he added considerably to the embellishment of the church. This is the list:

“He adorned the *High Altar* with a large Image of the

(92). *John of G.*, p. 256.

(93). Leland, *Itin.* iii. p. 103. But he adds, ‘Gualter Monington *next Abbate* to him ended it.’ There is here of course some error.

(94). *John of G.*, p. 260. Leland has a note to the same effect, possibly taken from the same original:—“Hic fecit *frontem* chori cum imaginibus [et] lapideis ubi stat Crucifixus.” (p. 101).

Virgin Mary and a Tabernacle of beautiful work. He built the Altar of SS. Silvester and George, which he adorned with images, vestments, &c.”

“He vaulted [voltavit] the greater part of the nave and ornamented it with beautiful paintings.”

“He made in it the large clock [horologium], remarkable for the movement of the figures and the variety of the exhibitions.”

“Also an organ of wonderful size.”

“He cast eleven bells, six of which he had hung in the church tower [turri ecclesiæ], and five in the steeple [clocherio].”⁹⁵

To enumerate the ornaments of other kinds, though the list is an interesting one from an antiquarian and ecclesiological point of view, would not throw any light on the architectural history, and would therefore be out of place here.⁹⁶ But from the additions here recorded, taken in connection with what has been before described, I venture to think that we obtain an insight into the history of the very gradual completion as it were of this large minster. Step by step, or stage by stage, under succeeding abbots, the work seems to have been going steadily on. We have seen evidence of work in the transepts, then in the choir; then the dedication of the High Altar, then its ornamentation, and then the screen; and now we have the vaulting and furnishing of the nave. The vaulting—and I think the word implies it must have been of stone,—we can imagine, as we have several fine examples of thirteenth and fourteenth century work; but we have in few cases records distinctly stating that the painting was added by the builder of the vault. This makes us especially regret its loss. We

(95). *John of G.*, p. 263. But Leland in his notes gives a single line to Adam of Sodbury, thus—“Abbate Adam gave a vii great Belles.” I cannot reconcile the discrepancy.

(96). The mention of a sacristy (vestiarium), to which he gave “tabulam lapideam, Imagine et quatuor historiis de Beata Maria decenter insculptam” (p. 264), seems to shew that this had been rebuilt with the rest of the church. I see no trace of it; probably it was attached to the south transept.

have the clock, mentioned above, remaining; that by some good fortune found its way into Wells Cathedral, and it ranks with the celebrated medieval clocks of Strasbourg, Lyons, Beauvais, and Rheims. We could not perhaps expect the organ to be preserved, but one would much desire to know where it was placed, whether in the triforium gallery, or whether it had a gallery of its own.

I am at a loss to interpret the meaning of the ‘clocher’ with respect to the distribution of the bells. The church tower is mentioned as distinct and separate from it. On the whole I am not inclined to think that we must look at it as pointing to a western tower, or any building attached necessary to the church. It may have been a detached belfry, as examples of such remain, possibly but a small turret connected with his clock, containing the five bells which struck the chimes.⁹⁷

According to Leland Adam of Sodbury was buried *in the nave*—the nave which he himself had vaulted. And Leland adds, in his list of the tombs, that his mother was buried on his left and his father on his right.⁹⁸

John of Breynton, first of all monk, then prior, and then unanimously elected abbot in 1334, is noted for having erected the Prior’s Hall and various adjoining offices. Also on the completion of the Abbot’s Great Hall—probably the Guest Hall—he expended a thousand pounds. But his recorded gifts as regards the church are mainly of ornaments and vestments for the altars. On S. Dunstan’s shrine, wherever this was, he spent 500 marks.⁹⁹ This was no doubt made a very prominent

(97). That ‘he left two shillings’ to be paid on certain anniversaries to the ringers—“pulsatoribus de clocherio”—(p. 269), need not militate against this, for a word like this is used in several senses. The “ringers of the clocher” in that case would be of the belfry in the church tower.

(98). As I mentioned the visit of Edward I and Queen Eleanor to the Abbey under Abbot John of Taunton, I ought perhaps to note that Adam of Sodbury had the honour of entertaining Edward III and Queen Philippa at Christmas in 1331, costing him eight hundred pounds. They staid from S. Thomas’ Day (Dec. 21) till Christmas Eve, when they went to Wells. Their gifts to the monastery do not touch the architectural history.

(99). *John of G.*, p. 270.

and important feature in the church. Amongst his benefactions I observe he gives certain vestments to the altar of S. Andrew, and it will be remembered that in the old church there was an altar so dedicated, before which Abbots Thurstan (1101) and Herlewin (1120) were buried. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the old site was retained: indeed it is not beyond possibility that the old altar itself was preserved. The place of his burial, according to Leland, was ‘*in the south aisle adjoining the presbytery,*’ and I shall have to say something further on this circumstance when I come to the architectural description.

Walter of Monington, or Mointon, who succeeded in 1342, is recorded by John of Glastonbury to have added considerably to the monastic buildings, as well as to have built one or two houses in the town for the benefit of the monastery. But it is to Leland that we owe the only record which is important in the history of the church. He says, ‘he was buried *in the choir*. *He made the vault of the choir and presbytery,* and increased the length of the presbytery *by two arches.*’¹⁰⁰ As in the previous case I shall have to say more about his work hereafter.

John Chinok succeeded in 1374 and lived 46 years. John of Glastonbury devotes only half a dozen lines to his benefactions of certain rents, &c., but Leland has preserved the record that while ‘Gualter Monington made to the midle parte the Chapitre House, John Chinok his successor performid it, and ther is buried in Sepulchro cum imagine Alabastri.’¹⁰¹

Nicholas Frome, elected in 1420, presided for 36 years. According to John of Glastonbury it was he who added so much to the building rather than his predecessor, and as he records that ‘he worthily completed the chapter house begun by his predecessor,’¹⁰² we must come to the conclusion that

(100). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 102. “Gualterus Monington, *in choro Abbas Glaston. Hic fecit voltam chori et Presbyterii et auxit longit[udinem] Presbyterii 2 Arcubus.*”

(101). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

(102). *John of G.*, p. 280.

there is an error somewhere, either with Leland or with John of Glastonbury. The evidence I think points to the error being on the part of the latter, because Leland gives so substantial a piece of evidence of John Chinok having completed the Chapter House by the circumstance of his tomb, with a figure of himself in alabaster, being placed there, while he with equal distinctness mentions Nicholas Frome's tomb in the nave. Still both may be reconciled by supposing Abbot Chinok to have left the money, but that the work was not completed till Abbot Frome's time.

Of the few months tenure of office by Walter More in 1456 (of whose election so complete an account has been preserved, with copies of the numerous and tedious documents belonging thereto),¹⁰³ there is nothing recorded by the chronicler touching buildings, but Leland's note informs us that his tomb was by the side of the four other tombs of abbots mentioned already as buried in the *north transept*.

John Selwood, elected at the close of the same year (1456), made several bequests, but none affecting the architectural history. Leland's note shews he was buried in the *south aisle* adjoining the presbytery, that is in the same aisle as John of Breynton's tomb, and, he adds, 'Ante cap. S. Andreae.'¹⁰⁴

And here we lose our third local chronicler. From other sources we learn that John Selwood's successor, Abbot Beere, was elected Jan. 30, 1493, and Leland has preserved an important record respecting the work done under him to the church. He says:—

"Abbate Beere buildid Edgares chapel at the est end of the chirch. But Abbate Whiting performid sum part of it."

"Bere archid on bothe sides the est parte of the chirch that began to cast owt."

(103). Hearne has printed them at the end of his first volume (after William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniæ*), p. 123.

(104). Leland, p. 102. It will be remembered that John of Breynton was a benefactor to the Altar of S. Andrew. (See *Ante*).

“ There be vi goodly windowes in the top of eche side of the est part of the chirch”

“ Bere made the volte of the steple in the transepto and under two arches like S. Andres Crosse, *els it had fallen.*”

“ Bere made a rich altare of silver and gilt: and set it afore the High Altare.”

“ Bere cumming from his Embassadrie out of Italie made a chapelle of our Lady de Loretta, joining to the North side of the body of the Chirch.”

“ He made the chapelle of the sepulcher in the southe end navis ecclesiæ, wherby he is buried sub plano marmore yn the South Isle of the Bodie of the Chirch.”¹⁰⁵

Leland also in his list of tombs in the nave of the church gives that of ‘ Richard Beere, Abbas Glaston in Meridion[ali] insula Navis Eccles[iæ].’

Of Edgar’s chapel, and the casting out of the eastern wall, I have to speak presently. When the tower arches required support, and they inserted a second arch below with an inverted arch above, making what may fairly be called a S. Andrew’s Cross, they but followed the example of the Cathedral of Wells hard by. The Loretto and Holy Sepulchre Chapels were not probably additional buildings, but erected inside the church.¹⁰⁶

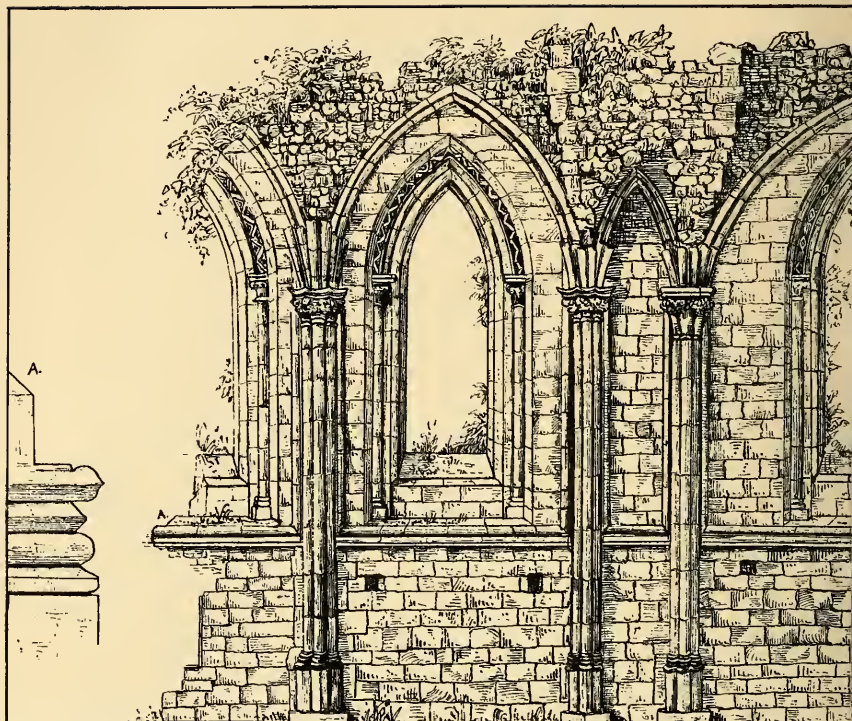
Dying on the 20th of January, 1524, Beere was succeeded by the last and the most unfortunate abbot of all, Abbot Whiting, who, in 1539, was hung on the ‘ Torre,’ and his body when cut down was brutally quartered and dispersed, the head being hung upon the abbey gate. Hence I have not to record his place of burial.

And with the last abbot the history of the Abbey comes to an end, and soon after when the site was sold the beautiful buildings quickly became a prey to wild fanaticism, or else to

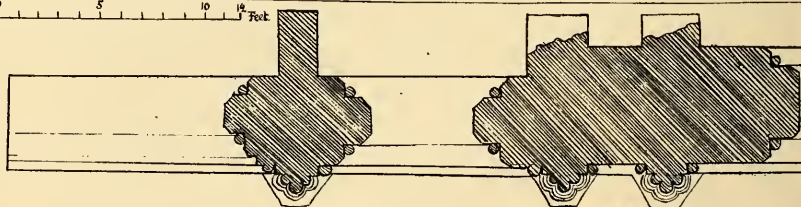
(105). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

(106). There is a good example of such a little chapel on the north side of the nave in Burford Church, Oxon, which has lately been restored.

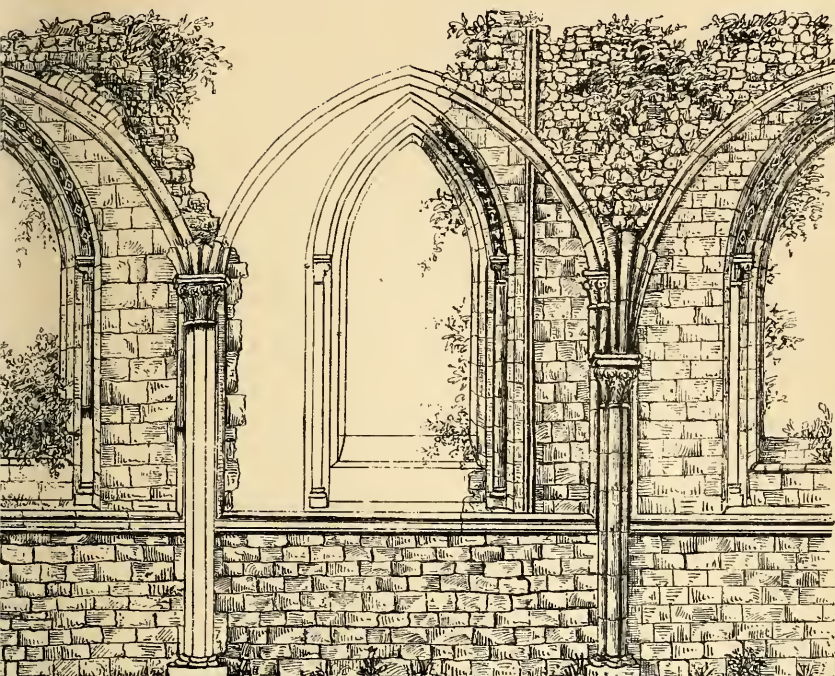




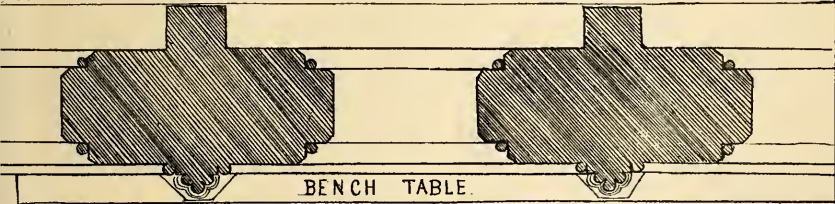
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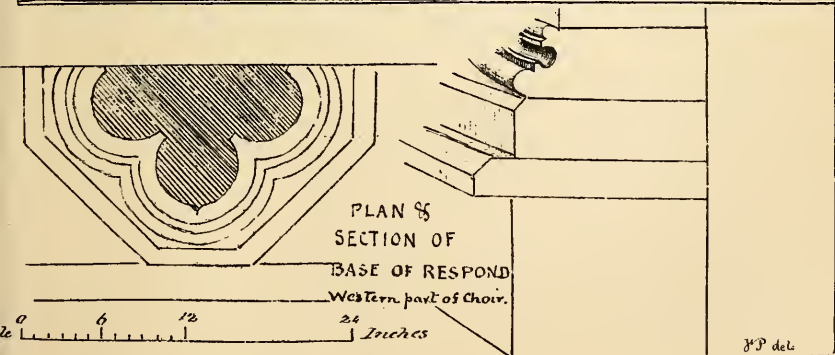
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OUR EASTERN BAYS OF CHOIR AISLE.



BENCH TABLE.





the calculating spirit of gain, and in a short time little more was left than that which we have now before us.¹⁰⁷

Architectural Description of Choir and Presbytery.

I propose now to attempt to put together, so to speak, the vestiges which we have of the ancient choir, applying, as far as I can, the words of the records to their explanation.

The chief part remaining is the outer wall of the south aisle of the choir. It will be seen that it extends from the line of the tower piers to within a few feet of the eastern extremity of the church.

The first bay at the western end is occupied by an arch opening into the transept chapel. The second is occupied by a window which is somewhat remarkable, in as much as, though similar to the rest in general appearance, it has, instead of the ordinary splay, an oblique opening in a south-easterly direction. The reason of this appears very plain when it is seen on the outside. The extension of the chapels on the east side of the south transept would have absolutely blocked up the window, if planned like the others. It is evidently no after-thought, but a part of the original design; the object of the architect being to get as much space as possible for his transept chapel; and yet to do this without either blocking up the window or yet interfering with the unity of the design.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th bays are similar to each other,

(107). Still there was something more, even so late as the eighteenth century: Stukely has preserved a picture shewing that the north side of the choir was then standing with its arches and six clerestory windows. His note too is a very suggestive one—"As yet there are magnificent ruins, but within a lustrum of years a *Presbyterian tenant* has made more barbarous havoc there than had been since the Dissolution; for every week a pillar or buttress, a window jamb or an angle of fine hewn stone is sold to the best bidder. Whilst I was there they were *excoriating* S. Joseph's Chapel for that purpose, and the squared stones were laid up by lots in the Abbot's Kitchen; the rest goes to paving yards and stalls for cattle, or to the highway (p. 152)." The above was written during Stukely's visit in 1723.

Confirmatory of this is the account given to Brown Willis by Samuel Gale, which he refers to as a survey lately taken, and his book was published in 1719. After describing the transepts and three arches of the South Cross remaining, he says, "Both the walls and the *side aisles by the choir remain*, containing eight windows in each, and the wall at the east end for about three foot high, is yet seen above the rubbish.

each containing a good Early English window ; but here also, as in the rest of the church, the Norman zigzag moulding is retained. A little closer examination, however, of the window in the 4th bay, shows that during the construction a slight change of plan was here contemplated, by bringing the sill of the window lower down, and so lengthening the window ; but the plan was evidently not adopted, and the sill was built over, and the same high level sill retained throughout.¹⁰⁸ It may be observed, too, that on the right hand side of the window in the 5th bay there is a peculiar groove cut in the wall, and passing behind the wall of rib of the vault, it appears to have communicated with the roof, and to have served for the passage of a pipe or rope.¹⁰⁹

It will be noticed that between the 5th and 6th bay, while the moulding along the sill of the windows remains the same, there is a change as regards the height of the capitals, and consequently of the form of the wall-arch : a small shaft has been inserted on the left hand side of the vaulting shaft, between bays four and five, with a pseudo-capital, in order to make the wall-arch symmetrical. In the south bay, it will be observed, also, that the bench-table ceases, and that the bases of the shafts rest on the floor.

The point, however, perhaps most important to notice is that between the 6th and 7th bay there is a portion of wall about four feet wide between the two responds—in fact, a small bay of itself, though I do not reckon it in the number in counting. On the outside it will be seen that this portion of wall is provided with a double buttress. This shews that at this point

(108). It can only be seen by going round to the outside. I was led to examine it by the circumstance that the bonding of the masonry in the lower part is awkward. It looks, at first, as if there had been an opening, and afterwards filled up.

(109). I do not think any ‘sanctus bell’ would be in a position here for a rope to be available. If I make a guess at all, it would be to afford means of communication with the organ—supposing, that is, that there was a triforium gallery, and that the organ was placed in it. Outside the eastern end of the church it will be seen that a deep groove is cut across one of the buttresses ; this was evidently intended for a water spout, and may well be of early date.

there was some special reason for extra strength. By taking into consideration the analogy which similar buildings to this afford, we may be quite sure that at this point we are opposite the eastern wall of the choir and presbytery of the church, the gable of which was no doubt carried up to a considerable height, and probably over a large eastern window, such as is seen in many of our cathedrals. It would be very necessary therefore, to supply as much support as possible, and the double arch over the aisle, and the double buttress outside—surmounted, possibly, by flying buttresses—would provide, in the most effectual way, the support needed.

The last two bays, No. VII and VIII, it will be seen, are somewhat narrower than the others. These belonged to a continuation of the aisle, as it were, behind the lofty eastern wall of the presbytery, which, no doubt, in the lower part was arched, and intended to be open into the aisle beyond. This retro-aisle, then, as it may be called, completed the processional path round and behind the choir and presbytery.

Almost immediately in front of this pierced gable wall stood, no doubt, the High Altar.

So far it may be said there is little or no difficulty in interpreting the remains. But when we pass into the details, and try to apply the words of the chroniclers exactly to the existing remains, we find that more than one view may be taken.

The chief records bearing on the architectural history, which Leland has either transcribed from some register which he saw when he visited the Abbey, somewhere about 1538, or which he put down in his note book, from what the abbot or prior told him, are, as I have said, that Walter of Monington, who was buried in the choir, made the *vault of the choir* and presbytery, and increased the length of the presbytery *by two arches*.

Now, although there is a slight variety in detail between the first four western bays and the two next, it does not seem to me to be sufficient to warrant the theory of any change of general design or plan.

Professor Willis, who attributes the work of these two next bays, *i.e.*, Nos. v and vi, to Abbot Monington, seems to lay some stress upon the four responds having plain, cylindrical shafts, while the other two have shafts with a slightly keeled edge. But the case is not quite as he puts it.¹¹⁰ In the four western series of triplets it is only two of the shafts in each that are plain cylinders; for in all cases the front shaft is keeled, and it will be observed also that the secondary shafts, by the side of the others (which only extend down to the window sills), are keeled throughout. So that in the four western groups there are sixteen keeled, with four plain, cylinders, against the ten keeled shafts of the two eastern groups—no very great difference. And it should be remarked that throughout the building this mixture is the rule. In S. Joseph's Chapel even the plain cylinder and the keeled cylinder are found side by side. So that I am convinced this feature cannot be appealed to, as marking any change of style or difference of date.

I observe that Professor Willis, in the passage in question, speaks of the western shafts as the *earlier* shafts, and I think that this is the case, for the building of the choir (at least, for the greater part of the walls above the foundations) seems, from the evidence I have given, to have gone forward from the west end—that is from the tower piers—and *not* to have been begun at the east end;¹¹¹ and what I have shewn to have been the case as to the use of the transepts, first of all for burial, and the existence of the first altars there, bears this out. The reason I should assign why Glastonbury did not follow the ordinary plan, was that the monks continued to use S. Mary's Church as their choir, while the church was building, just as they had done for the fifty years while no building was going on.

(110). All of them consist of a triple group of shafts, but the *earlier* shafts are plain cylinders; the three *later* have a sharp vertical edge or keel upon them. Professor Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Glastonbury Abbey*, p. 37.

(111). Yet in one place Professor Willis says "the new church which was of course commenced at the east end, and carried on westward;" p. 35.

I attach, then, little or no importance to this very slight variation in the detail of the mouldings, nor, indeed, to the change in the carving of the capitals, except that they show how slowly the work dragged on. I mean they do not show the special work of any one man, or that his work was an addition or an after-thought. The change of height, coupled with what seems to me a more marked feature—the cessation of the bench-table—seems to suggest rather some special purpose to which these two bays were appropriated.

We learn from Leland, as I have said, that Abbot Breyn-ton, who died in 1342, was ‘buried in the south aisle *adjoining the presbytery*.’ He was a great builder, and benefactor to the Monastery, and had been elected abbot unanimously, on account of the good qualities he had shewn while serving the office of prior. I attribute the completion of bays No. v and vi, then, to his time; and, so far as the ornamentation is concerned—at least, such as is left of it—it is certainly very consistent with his date. Now it is exceedingly probable—following the analogy which several other cases afford—that the part where he wished his tomb erected would be that part completed under his own directions. In the north aisle—probably in the corresponding bays—John of Kent had been buried; for the words are similar, viz., ‘in the north aisle, *adjoining the presbytery*.’ Abbot Breyn-ton being, as I have said, much respected, it is very probable something of the nature of a chapel would have been erected here to his memory; or indeed, he might have obtained the leave of the brethren to design the same himself, had he wished it, and this would account for the cessation of the bench-table, which, according to my view, shows that an altar was erected here, against an eastern reredos of some kind, beneath or near to the double abutment arch.¹¹² But it was no addition, or,

(112). He is recorded to have spent 500 marks on S. Dunstan’s shrine. As this was an important shrine the date may mark the removal of the relics into a suitable resting place, and it would not be inconsistent to suppose that he was buried near the shrine, and so this would fix the chapel as S. Dunstan’s Chapel also.

indeed, important alteration in the general plan, because before this the foundations had been carried to the end of the building, and the double buttresses to support the eastern wall and gable had been erected. Still, these two bays need not have been completed when the church was dedicated by Abbot Fromond, in 1303-22, as to carving and fittings. Whether or not before the death of Abbot Breynton they had been opened to the church, or whether the presbytery arches remained temporarily blocked up by hoarding, is a detail which, of course, need not be determined.

This view, I am aware, involves the supposition that the altar was dedicated some time before these eastern portions of the church were complete. But, then, almost any view must involve this. It is a question only how much or how little was complete at the time of the dedication, and what was the progress of the work afterwards.

My opinion is that the High Altar was, at the time of the dedication, in the place it was intended to occupy, and afterwards did occupy. In other words, that six bays of the choir and presbytery were completed, though covered in perhaps by a wooden and temporary roof. That four bays of the aisles were complete and open to the choir and capable of use; but of the two eastern bays of the aisles, only the shells were complete: and in a similar state were the aisles at the back of the presbytery. The walls and just so much of the vaulting, of course, must have been there, as would be necessary in order to support the choir arcade.

Professor Willis's theory, on the other hand, is, as I understand it, that the choir and presbytery consisted only of four bays at the time of dedication (1302-22), and that the High Altar then stood at the eastern end of the 4th bay, and that the two bays which I attribute to Adam of Breynton were portions of "the side aisle continued *beyond the eastern gable*, so as to connect the north and south aisles into a procession path; and that there were chapels projecting from this procession path

eastward.”¹¹³ A little later on he says that the bay or “Severy 5-6 was the south end of the procession path, and 6-7 part of the side wall of a chapel; it must be supposed, therefore, that the increase of elevation of the shafts was intended to give greater loftiness of character to the chapels and to the procession path which led to, and extended in front of, them.”¹¹⁴

I venture to say, with all due respect to the high authority of Professor Willis, and to the close investigation which he has made, that I do not see sufficient evidence for this theory, based, as it is, upon the virtual shifting of the east end, two bays forward, at a later time. I ask, was it a temporary ‘east end gable’ of which he speaks as existing at the time of the dedication? Surely such an hypothesis is not justified by the observation of a mere change of ornamentation, and a slight change in moulding, which is all the evidence he adduces: and at the same time it presents several difficulties. First of all, it militates against the statement recorded by Adam of Domerham, that the foundations were laid for a church of 400 feet in length by the original architect. As he closes his chronicle in 1290 (and died soon after), the statement could not have been influenced by the church at any time afterwards, having been extended to four hundred feet. It follows that the original plan, for which the foundations were originally laid, was carried out to the end. Next, I think, the general proportions of the church, viewed as a whole, strongly militate against the theory of a choir with only four bays. But the crucial point, I think, is this. The ‘original high east gable,’ of which Professor Willis speaks, would as much have required abutments, as the later gable did, and since there are no traces of them, either inside or outside of the southern aisle wall, it is impossible to believe that such a gable was either designed or built in that place.

(113). Willis, p. 38.

(114). Willis, p. 38. It must be borne in mind that Professor Willis enumerates the Responsds, while I have numbered the Bays. Hence his Severy 5-6 is equivalent to my Bay v, and Severy 6-7 to my Bay vi.

I ought to mention, however, that Professor Willis relies on another statement of Leland, viz :—

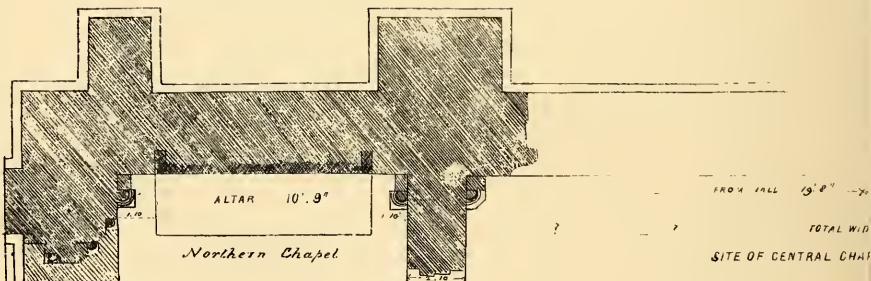
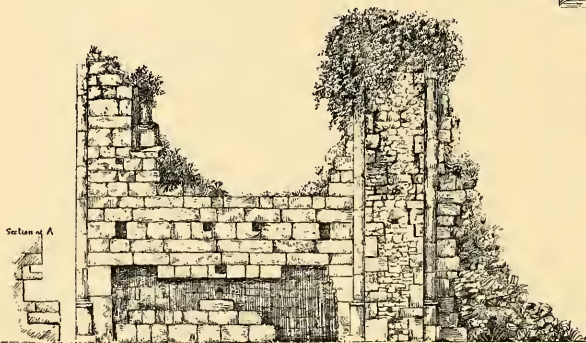
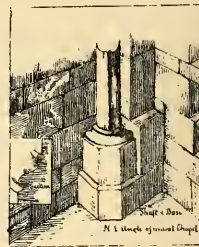
“There be VI goodly windows in the top of each side of the east part of the church. There were 4 of old tyme, sins 2 added and the presbyterie elonggied by Gualter Monington, abbot.”¹¹⁵

Leland's note, however, is not sufficiently definite to build a large hypothesis upon it. He either was copying from a record, or it was told to him. If the latter, it is not of much account. If the former, it is, perhaps, but a repetition of the note which he had already transcribed, “et auxit longitudinem presbyterii 2 arcubus;” and he would apply this to the upper part of the presbytery proper instead of to the lower part, comprising the retro-aisles.

On the whole, then, I do not attribute to Abbot Monington the ornamentation, much less the building of the two bays, No. v and VI. But I do attribute the completion of bays No. VII and VIII—that is, the two bays beyond the eastern gable—to him. The foundations, as I have said, had been laid before, but it is quite consistent that nothing more had been erected than was considered necessary, on structural grounds, for safety to the other part of the building.

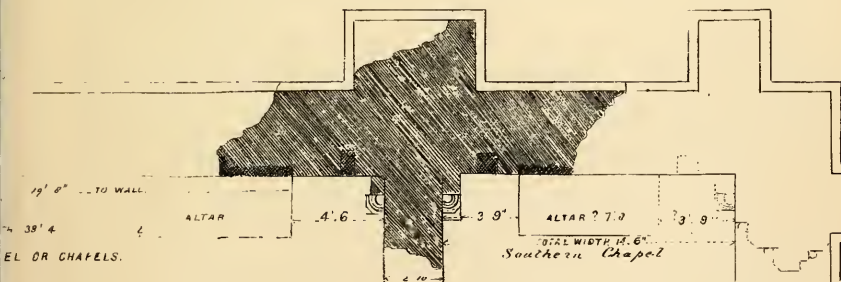
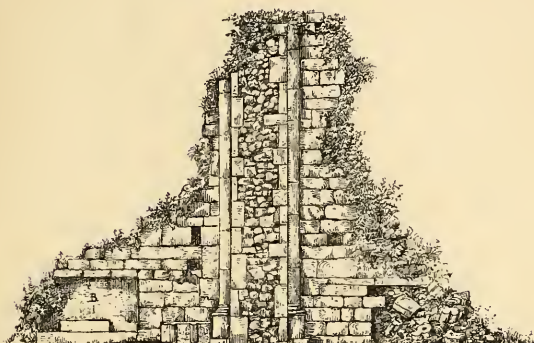
Abbot Monington, however, I take it, completed not only the two eastern bays on either side, but the whole length of the aisles at the back of the presbytery: and it was the throwing open these, when completed, to the presbytery, which would occasion the chronicler, whom Leland has followed, to speak of the Abbot as ‘increasing the length of the presbytery by two arches.’ It would further appear that the vaulting of the whole choir and presbytery was effected at the same time; and this is but natural, inasmuch as they completed the vaulting of the surrounding aisles, before venturing to insert the more lofty vaulting of the central space. It will be observed that the vaulting of the choir and the extension of the aisles is mentioned in one paragraph,

(115), Leland's *Itin.*, vol. iii, p. 103.



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF RE
GLASTONBURY

Scale of Plan & Elevation



MAINS OF EASTERN END OF
ABBAY CHURCH.

1" = 10' Feet

Of these retro-aisles, it is a great misfortune that so little is remaining in order to guide us to the arrangement. A processional aisle, however, or path, at the 'back' of the enclosure or presbytery proper, in which the High Altar stood, was the rule, as may be seen in nearly all cathedrals: and from this aisle the eastern chapels were projected.

I have already stated that bays No. VII and VIII, as shewn by the responds on the southern wall, were erected somewhat narrower than the others, though the style and general character is the same as that of Nos. V and VI, of which they are a continuation; the mouldings of the windows in No. VII, and those of the portion which remains of No. VIII, being identical with the rest: the same advanced zigzag ornament, the number of arches, the splays, and even the bases of the inner shafts, are also the same throughout. The walls, however, are thinner by about one foot; but then, this variation cannot be reasonably attributed to change of style, or principles in construction, since a more simple reason is at hand: the wall from this point had no longer the serious duty to perform of resisting the thrust of the arches of the aisle against the lofty walls of the choir and presbytery, and therefore there was no need of the extra foot of masonry.

Of the eastern wall itself, there is enough to show that there were two partition walls projecting westward from it, but not sufficient to *prove* that there were more. The first partition occurs at 14 feet 6 inches distance from the southern wall, and is 2 feet 10 inches in thickness. On a portion of the inner surface of this partition wall remaining, there is enough ashlar to show that there was a moulded arch-line and a string, corresponding with the moulded arch-line and string surrounding the window opposite. The treatment must have been exactly similar to that of the surface of the wall remaining perfect on the north side of the chapel in the south transept.

At the north end of the retro-aisle is another chapel, very similar, but in some respects more perfect than that at the

southern end. There are remains of a window over the Altar, looking out towards the east, as well as of a window on the northern side, each presenting sufficient details to show that their character was precisely similar to the other windows of the choir; while the traces of a partition on the southern side of this chapel exhibit a wall of exactly the same thickness as that at the other end. It may be, however, said, generally, that several particulars which the one supplies are wanting in the other. In each chapel, in the outside wall, it will be seen that there was a large locker or Aumbry. The width of this northern chapel is, as nearly as possible, the same as that of the southern, namely, 14 feet 6 inches; but the partition wall having been much disturbed, it is impossible to measure exactly to an inch. The space between the two partition walls is close upon 39 feet, and the destruction has been so great that it is very difficult to conjecture how the space was occupied.

Before, however, I speak of the vestiges of structural evidence remaining, I should give what documentary evidence we have, which latter, I may say in passing, is equally imperfect and unsatisfactory.

Leland (to whom I have had to refer so constantly), after the mention of all those who were buried in the choir—the last of his list being Monington, who had increased the length of the presbytery by two arches—goes on to give an inventory of what is ‘in the Presbytery’.

“In Presbyterio:

Edmundus Senior in Bor[eali] parte;

Edmundus Ironside in Merid[ionali] parte;

Arturus in Medio.”

He then gives two lines of verse, as the epitaph written by Abbot Henry Swansey on King Arthur, and two lines at the foot of the tomb in reference to Arthur’s Queen, and then the following:

“Inscript[io] in capite tumuli.

Henricus Abbas;

Crucifixi imago in capite tumuli ;

Arturii imago ad pedes ;

Crux super tumulum ;

Leones in capite et duo ad pedes tumuli attengentes terræ."¹¹⁶

Now the question is, in what sense does Leland use the word 'presbytery' here. Was the tomb of King Arthur, with the tombs of the two King Edmunds on either side, *in front* of the High Altar? I think not. I know of no such arrangement elsewhere, and it must have been exceedingly inconvenient. Nor would there be space at the back of the High Altar, between that and the reredos. Consequently, I am inclined to think that Leland here uses the term presbytery in the sense of the retro-aisle with its chapels, behind the presbytery proper (but, of course, open to the rest of the presbytery by the arches); and that here the tombs of the three kings were placed.

We have one other piece of documentary evidence bearing on the question. William of Worcester,¹¹⁷ like Leland, visited several abbeys, churches, etc., but some sixty years before Leland's time. He has written, amongst his very rough memoranda :

"The choir of Glastonbury contains in length 42 yards; its width, with the two aisles, contains 24 yards. And ten yards beyond the reredos."¹¹⁸

(116). Leland, iii. p. 102. This Henry Swansey is the same as Henricus de Soliaco, the abbot appointed in 1189, by King Richard, and the first abbot after the fire. It was during his rule, as I have before narrated, that the tomb of King Arthur was supposed to have been discovered. (See *ante*, p. 67.) Perhaps we may interpret Leland's obscure note to mean that Arthur's tomb and the memorial to Abbot Swansey were one and the same construction.

(117). William of Worcester seems to have written his itinerary about 1475-1480. He was born in 1415; came to Oxford to study in 1431, and entered at Hart Hall in 1434. The MS. is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and I have quoted from Nasmith's printed version (Cambridge, 1778), in preference to that of Brown Willis.

(118). *W. of W.*, p. 292 : "*Chorus Glastoniæ continet in longitudine 42 virgas. Latitudo ejus cum duobus alis continet 24 virgas, et 10 virgæ ultra le reredes.*" William of Worcester adds another line, "Thus, in the whole, it contains 34 yards." This is obviously a blunder, as he has added the ten yards additional *length* of the church on to the *width*. It should have been "thus in the whole length 52 yards."

Now these measurements are as accurate as one would expect from the rough manner in which they are taken, and the omission of the points from and to which they are taken. If we measure from a point between the two tower piers at the west end of the choir, and in a line with what I consider to be traces of the screen, to a line drawn across from the centre of the abutment space between bay No. VI and VII, I find the distance to be exactly 40 yards. From this same point, as far as the eastern wall, exactly 10 yards. It is possible that he began his measurement of the choir westward of the screen; not improbably from the top edge of the steps beneath the tower; or else he is two yards out in his reckoning. I find the total width from inside surface of the two outer walls to be nearly 74 feet; so that it is nearer 25 yards than 24.¹¹⁹ Later on he states:

“On the north side of the choir are six large, tall, glazed windows, and the same on the south side of the choir; and each window has six lights, and therefore there are 72 small lights in all.¹²⁰ There are on either side of the choir aisles eight windows.”

These large glazed clerestory windows are what we should expect, and it is a very trivial error that in counting the windows in the bays of the aisles on either side of the choir he should have reckoned the bay which has only an arch leading into the transept chapel, and no window at all. Then we come to the next paragraph, which is exceedingly puzzling, even allowing for the roughness which I have shown belongs to his notes generally. I must give it in the original.

“In orientali parte altaris Glastoniæ spacium de le reredes

(119). Elsewhere in his notes (perhaps the rough notes from which these were copied) he calculates by paces. I rather expect he has reduced his paces to yards, and that he did not measure with a rod, and hence the discrepancies.

(120). *W. of W.*, p. 293. I take this to be the meaning; but, as I have said, his notes are very rough, and scarcely intelligible. The passage in question runs, “In qualibet [*?* boreali] parte chori sunt 6 magnæ altæ fenestræ vitreatæ et tot[*idem*] in meridionali chori et in qualibet luce sunt in qualibet panella et 6 lucēs, i.e., parvæ fenestræ sunt in qualibet magna fenestra: sunt in toto 60 [*?* 72] parvæ fenestræ.”

ex parte orientali magnæ altaris sunt 5 columnæ seriatim. Et inter quamlibet columpnam est capella cum altari. Et spacium capellæ in longitudine continet 5 virgas et spacium interceptum inter capellas et le reredes continet similiter 5 virgas."

The last two lines may, perhaps, be only an amplification of what he had given before, namely, that the space beyond the reredos extended for ten yards. Here it is that the aisle is five yards wide, and the chapel extends five yards beyond it. If this is his meaning, it does not throw any light on the *width* of the chapels. But how are 'the five columns in a row,' and 'between either column a chapel with an altar,' to be explained?

Professor Willis remarks that 'the passage *as written* would give five responds and four chapels between them,' and then goes on to say that "the position of the Altar [against the eastern end of the second chapel] and the foundations preserved in Wild's plan appear so strongly to prove that there were five chapels, that I am led to the conclusion that Worcester has fallen into a mistake which he is very apt to commit, namely, when counting the number of arches in an arcade, to set down the pillars as equal in number with the arches."¹²¹

Of this kind of error of Worcester's, there are no doubt frequent examples, and it is a very natural one; but as to Wyld's plan, I must say I do not rely upon it as throwing any light upon the question. He speaks in the letterpress, referring to his plan of "*a a*, two pillars of *singular form and situation*; probably part of the crypt," and the plate is dated so late as 1813. Now Wyld was an architectural draughtsman and had drawn many plans, and I cannot think that if they were solely the bases of the vaulting shafts belonging to the series—implied by Worcester to be in a row, and of which the end one still remains perfect against the southern wall—he could possibly have mistaken them. That they were below the level of the others I think is shewn by his suggestion of their being

(121). Willis, p. 41.

probably *part of the 'crypt.'* It is useless to conjecture what they were. Whether connected with any work of the reredos or altar, or with King Arthur's tomb itself (supposing it to have been there), it is hopeless probably to determine, as the stones have been no doubt removed, and perhaps even gone to mending roads before now; but the evidence, I contend, is not such as to suggest that they were the reponds attached to two partition walls.

We have therefore only to deal with the evidence of the structure, such at least as is left of it. Here I am at once at a loss to see how the position of the 'Altar at the southern end of the central opening' supports the view that there were five altars and not four. I should have expected that there were five, but the difficulty lies in interpreting the evidence which this altar affords in favour of four—that is to say, supposing each altar had its chapel; and this may be said to be implied by the words of Worcester, that is if they are to be applied to this eastern end at all.

As I have said the total length from wall to wall may be reckoned at 74 feet. Against the eastern wall are remains of two partitions, each 2 feet 10 inches in thickness, and (more or less) of three altars, so far as the breaking away the ashlar marks their site, or the holes of the brackets of the altar beam over them point to their position. The following is the formula with which we have to deal.

A.		B.		A.	
Chapel. 14.6	2.10	Space. 39.4	2.10	Chapel. 14.6	
1.10 Altar 1.10		? Altar.	Altar 4.6	3.9 Altar 3.9	
10.9				7.0	

In the northern chapel there was an exceedingly long Altar, 10 ft. 9 in., leaving only a space at either end of 1 ft. 10 in. Thus we see how the space of 14 ft. 6 ft. was occupied. In the southern chapel we find that 3 ft. 9 in. was left on one side of the Altar. The other has been destroyed, but if the Altar was in the centre it must have been 7 ft. only in length. All

the data we have for the middle space is that one Altar begins at 4 ft. 6 in. distance from the southern wall.

Now if we put this Altar at 9 ft. 3 in. (which is not far from the mean of the other two Altars of which we have the respective lengths), and take this 4 ft. 6 in. as the datum for the next compartment and an Altar of the same, we find that four Altars exactly fill up the space. The formula will stand thus:

A.		B.		B.		A.	
14.6		18.3		18.3		14.6	
1.10 Altar 1.10	2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10	3.9 Altar 3.9	
10.9		9.3		9.3		7.0	

I confess to being very loath to suppose four chapels, but on the other hand, for the reason I have given, I cannot accept Professor Willis' arrangement of five distinct chapels, with the central one of 14 ft. in width, according to his data, *i.e.*, nearly the same as the side chapel. It would leave for each Altar, of which we have the traces (supposing it stood in the middle of the chapel to which it belonged, and the whole arranged symetrically), only 10 inches. Thus—

A.		B.		C.		B.		A.
	9.10						9.10	
	4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10		14.0		2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6	
	10 in.						10 in.	

making up the 39 ft. 4 in. of the central space. Of course it is possible that this altar stood in one corner and not in the middle of the chapel; but with the two end chapels, arranged as we see them, it is highly improbable that such a design should have been adopted.

While then I cannot follow Professor Willis' plan, and yet am loath to adopt the theory of four chapels (though Worcester's description, and alike the traces of the Altars point primarily to this), I would venture to suggest that after all there may have been but three chapels, in the strict sense of the word, namely the two end ones, of which we have the remains, and one large central one, in which were placed three Altars instead of two. Without the division wall there would

be space for three, because it is not only the thickness of the wall which is gained, but the extra space on either side of it. With three altars, say of an average of seven feet in length each, and a space of 4 ft. 6 in. at either end, we have a space left of full 4 ft. 6 in. on either side of the central Altar. Thus—

A.		B.						A.		
	2.10	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	2.10	

which will thus fill up the 39 ft. 4 in. required. In all probability the altars would not be all of the same size, and if the two side altars were but five feet in length, and at a lower level, there would be a good space between each, and the central altar would stand clear of the other two.

As regards reconciling William of Worcester's notes, we may suppose that he counted the Altars and not the pillars, and also reckoned each Altar as a separate chapel; but we are still left in doubt as to the arrangement of the pillars in the central space, as well as the distribution of the tombs of the three kings, supposing that they were placed here. I cannot think, however, with the evidence of the marks of the Altars so plain, that there were five distinct chapels.¹²²

There is one other incidental matter connected with the plan of the east end on which I think it well to say a word, and connected with it are the last additions which the abbey seemed to have received. Professor Willis in his plan has drawn, as I have said, a projecting chapel at the east end, and this he thinks was the site of Edgar's Chapel. The passage relied upon is that from Leland. It has already been quoted in the historical summary, but it will be convenient to repeat a portion here:—

“ Abbate Beere buildid Edgares Chapel at the est end of the chirch: but Abbate Whiting performid sum part of it.”

(122). It appears to me that this end was thrown down mainly to give an open view from the house which was built here (since Stukely's time), and that they might not have taken the trouble to dig up wholly the foundations, and so it might be determined whether there were any projecting walls of a central chapel on the outside, or any projecting partition wall on the inside.

“Bere archid on both sides the est part of the Chirch that began to cast owt.”

“There be vi goodly windowes in the top of each side of the est part of the chirche,” &c.

“Bere made the Volte of the Steple in the Transepto and under 2 arches like S. Andres Crosse, els it had fallen.”

Of work which can be ascribed to Abbot Bere, elected only seven years before the close of the 15th century, I can find none remaining at the eastern end,¹²³ nor are there any other guides to help us in interpreting Leland's meaning.

The question is, what does Leland mean by the ‘est end of the Chirch?’ Does he mean of the choir? Of course I cannot say he does not. But there are two considerations. The first is the view preserved by Stukely, taken by his friend Mr. Strachey, before the abbot's house was pulled down, and, as I understand it, some few years before 1723. In this a larger portion of the second chapel in the south transept remains than now, and it is lettered ‘Edgar's Chapel.’ He seems to have obtained his name from hearsay, and possibly therefore no importance ought to be attached to the tradition by itself. The other consideration seems to me to be more worthy of attention, and may perhaps support the tradition. When it is said, in the next paragraph which Leland gives in reference to Abbot Bere, that he ‘arched’ on both sides the east part of the church, if it meant the eastern end of the presbytery to which I have drawn such minute attention, I cannot but think that in the northern chapel, which for some 8 feet or so in height is nearly perfect, as well as in the southern chapel, some traces would still be visible of this ‘arching.’ Nor do I quite see from what cause this part of the ‘church’ would have ‘begun to cast out.’ The large eastern gable might have done so, but this would have been met by some additional

(123). A small fragment of stonework, about three feet in length, at the eastern end, may possibly be of the 15th century, and be the base of some panelling inserted there; but there is not sufficient to judge with any degree of certainty as to the date, or that it is in its original position.

large buttresses, and of such I think traces must have remained at the eastern end ; the two buttresses belonging to the original work happen in this part to remain particularly perfect, and show no marks of any alteration to meet such an emergency as described.

On the other hand what I should expect ‘to cast out,’ as it is termed, would be the tower and the adjoining walls, particularly the eastern walls of the nave and aisles, and arching the transepts would be the best means to be taken of preventing further mischief. The next paragraph but one seems to refer to a continuation of the same work. It is not quite certain what Leland means by the vault of the steeple *in the transepto*, but probably he means that Bere vaulted over the central space beneath the tower, where very often there is but a wooden floor for the ringers. The fitting in the S. Andrew’s Cross to the piers (although in the two piers which are remaining there are few traces which can be with certainty connected with the work), receives, as I have said already, an illustration from Wells and elsewhere, and seems connected with the same giving way of masonry : in fact, all the circumstances seem to fit together. The absence of any evidence of such work which we might reasonably expect to have found at the east end of the presbytery, coupled with the difficulty of suggesting any cause, seems to throw doubt upon the application of Leland’s words to the east end of the choir ; while the fact so definitely stated that the tower had to be ‘supported els it had fallen,’ leaves the balance very much in favour of supposing that the work of ‘arching’ at the east end of the church meant at the east end of the nave and aisles, and not of the choir ; if so then Edgar’s chapel belonging to the same work, and described as being at the ‘est end of the chirch,’ would belong to the transept also, and there it is placed, in the only engraving which gives the name.¹²⁴ On the whole I

(124). Stukely’s engraving (see *ante*) ; also in vol. ix of the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Society (1859) a reduced copy of Stukely’s view will be found.

think it must be left an open question as to what Abbot Bere built; at least, that the evidence is not sufficient to justify putting Edgar's chapel at the east end of the choir.

Abbot Bere's other works, it will be observed, were about 'the body,' *i.e.*, the nave of the church, where he was buried, but no traces whatever are remaining.

Conclusion.

I believe I have noticed all the documentary material which can be fairly said to throw light upon the architectural history of the building. I am accustomed to find the recorded history of a building very imperfect, sometimes scarcely any whatever, but I have not before attempted to describe a building where the remains have been equally imperfect. And I have also here met with another difficulty, namely that Glastonbury when viewed by the little light which I have tried to glean from the scraps of history here collected, seems to have had a peculiar and extraordinary history of its own, and to present therefore few analogies as regards its existing remains with the history of other buildings. The circumstance of the fire happening while the Abbey was in the King's hands, and that King Henry II, with the memory of the murder of Becket still unbanished from his conscience, seemed at first to be a stroke of fortune which has fallen to the lot of few if any other Abbeys. But while for the remaining years of his reign the summer of the royal bounty favoured the growth of the Abbey buildings, such as none others had enjoyed, it was followed beneath the two succeeding monarchs by a frost, which, perhaps, scarcely any Abbey, previous to the Reformation, has ever had to endure. It was not only favour withdrawn, and the cold of neglect, but the fierce blast of confiscation which swept over the unhappy spot. With their church probably but very few feet above the ground, and their revenues confiscated, the plight of the monks was far worse than if no church had been begun at all. The great name of Glastonbury, and the claims it had advanced to so high honour among other Abbeys, required

funds to maintain its grandeur and position ; and as its wealth, so to speak, had been its ruin, so its great name was the trouble to it during its adversity. Possessing the foundations of a church laid, worthy of its name, it was necessary to keep in view the grand scheme which had been set out ; and under ordinary circumstances the revenue of so large an Abbey would have been sufficient to carry the work speedily to a successful termination. But here was one half of its revenue swallowed up in the ordinary requirements—the regular life and work of the monastery, and that barely sufficient for their members : the other half diverted to Wells. And so the work of building, which might have been completed in twenty years, dragged on for a century and a half, during the greater part of which time it was not touched ; and during the other part, by reason of the spoliation of the funds, it advanced but very slowly.

Yet through all these times, not only the old lines of the plan were obliged to be followed, but even for the most part the old style. In other churches architects came and finished their work. The next generation would add, or pull down and build afresh ; insert a larger window here, or open a doorway there ; throw out an aisle on this side, or build out a chapel on that. But here it seems it was one long monotonous work, going on in the same groove, so to speak, to the time of its dedication, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Windows that were just glazed then, could not be distinguished as regards style and mouldings from windows which had been first glazed perhaps in the twelfth century. Here and there, as in the capitals of the tower piers, a later style peeps out ; and so we see in one or two capitals, completed after the dedication, evidences that years were rolling by as the work went on : but, compared with other buildings, the uniformity is striking indeed. Hence the peculiar history has to be taken largely into account in attempting to interpret the existing remains, and no dependance can be placed upon arguments

from analogies of plan or procedure, as is the case in any ordinary building.

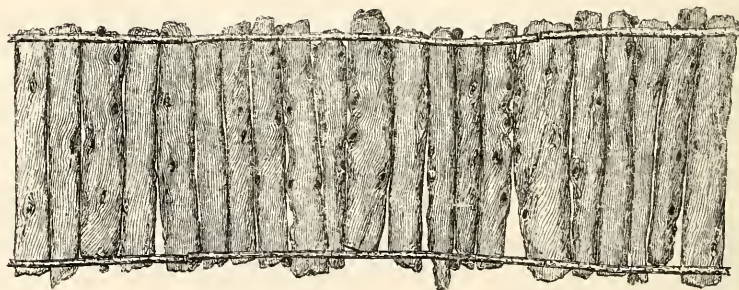
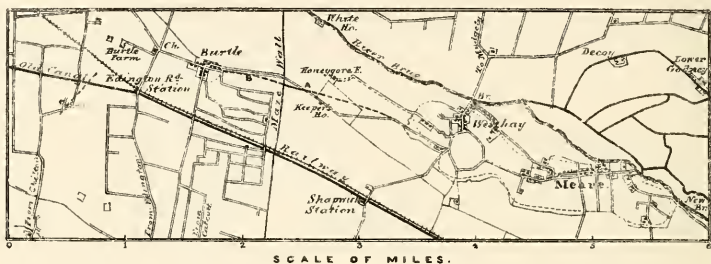
There was, too, coupled with this sad story, it seems to me, a strong and definite inclination on the part of the successive occupants to live in the past. It was not only that their circumstances had prevented them from keeping up with the times, and introducing the latest novelties in design and construction, but they were actuated, also, by a feeling that antiquity was their strongest claim. The ‘eald chirche’ described in Henry’s charter as the fountain of Christianity in Britain, was their chief pride; and the names of early saints and martyrs, in which the legends attached to their church abounded, seemed fitly to be associated with architecture which belonged to bygone ages, rather than that of the day. It was that which probably suggested to some later abbot to build the crypt under S. Joseph’s Chapel in the Norman style, as it had prompted earlier builders to retain the zigzag moulding round the windows, as a distinguishing feature of the work of older ages. The zigzag—the typical ornament of the twelfth century—is the persistent ornament throughout, coupled, however, with the pointed arch, and with mouldings and details which mark the work to be of later date: in other words, the past seems to have had a special charm amongst the dwellers in this Abbey to the very end. Nor is it surprising. A church which, somehow, had possessed itself of the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, and had associated the names of saints, like S. Patrick of Ireland, and S. David of Wales, with its history; that was believed to possess the bones of Aidan, the Apostle of the North, and of the venerable Bede, and from having been once the home of Bishop Dunstan, to have rightly possessed itself of his sacred body; that was able, too, to gain the credit of the burial place of the greatest hero of romance—the renowned King Arthur; and still, beyond all this, could truly boast of being the spot where three English kings, who had ruled this land before William the Conqueror landed here,

were interred—was a church which might well call up feelings of veneration for the past. And so with the various links which bound Glastonbury to those bygone ages, it is no wonder that the architecture which it presents is different from that which other buildings present—begun, perhaps, under less happy auspices, but continued under far less grievous trials.

Compared with other buildings, too, not many have encountered at their end so melancholy a destruction as that which has befallen this Abbey, after all the troubles and adversity through which it had bravely fought.

It is probably beyond restoration—but not beyond preservation. The present owner has not only done his best to preserve all that stands, but also to collect and store all the scattered fragments which could be found; and though they are in disorder, we can see what they are. And more than that, by a judicious liberality and management, the Abbey each day, while it delights and charms the architect, the archæologist, and the artist, tells its sad tale to the many visitors, and sends many home, it is to be hoped, with feelings of deeper respect for the glorious monuments which grace our land, and veneration toward the piety of those who reared them; with, on the other hand, a just abhorrence of the foolish spite, or wretched vandalism, which has destroyed the fruit of such patient skill and labour, as the remains testify to have once been here bestowed. All must be gratified that what past generations have left us is being so diligently treasured by the present, and that this ruin has fallen now into good hands.

AN ANCIENT PLANK ROAD CALLED "THE ABBOT'S WAY."



SCALE OF FEET.

MEASURED BY G.W.DYMOND, C.E., 16TH AUG, 1873.

The Abbot's Way.

BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A.

THE ancient timber-road in Glastonbury turf-moor, called "The Abbot's Way," of which a short length is delineated in the accompanying plate, though relatively an object of small importance, yet offers to the antiquary several interesting points for study, and one or two problems not easy of solution.

In the year 1873, the late G. S. Poole, Esq., kindly gave me an opportunity of seeing and measuring a section which had been freshly uncovered on Honeygore farm, Westhay Heath, in the parish of Meare: and, as it appears that no illustrated account of this relic of the past has yet been published, it may be well to place on record, or give references to, all the facts which I have been able to collect; and, where it is possible, to indicate their principal bearings.

The measured piece was exposed at a point, marked on the accompanying map by the letter A, in a meadow, close to the northern side of the road from Burtle to Westhay, rather more than half-way (about 350 yards) from the bridge by which that road crosses the rhine, marked on the Ordnance-map as "Maze Wall," toward the game-keeper's house at Honeygore. At that point, it bears N. 82° W., and S. 82° E. On the southern side of the road, at the time of my first visit, the track could be observed for a short distance westward, at points where it had recently been exposed in peat-cutting: but these traces are now invisible—the field having been nearly worked-out, and the spongy bottom having risen high enough to cover them. Still farther westward, indications may be seen, after a long spell of dry weather, in the ditch dividing two parallel droves which skirt the road to the east of Burtle, about half-way between that village and Maze Wall. Here, for sixty yards east of the hand-gate fixed across the inner drove, at B on the map, and also at one point a few yards to the west of it, the outer edge of the ditch coincides with the northern line of

stringers. It is clear that this path was, in olden times, the connecting link between the island of Meare, on which Westhay is situated, and that at the eastern end of which is planted the village of Burtle; and, as we should expect to find, it evidently held a tolerably direct course between their nearest points, closely represented by the strong dotted line on the accompanying map. Many more traces would, doubtless, be discovered, if they were sought; but at present, the only ground along the belt which has been devoted to the peat-cutter, is that opposite to A, on the southern side of the road. In Chilton Moor, however, there are remains of another similar track, or, perhaps, of two others, of which I have been able to glean intelligible information with respect to one only. At the point C, in a croft behind the house of Isaac Tratt, rather more than half a mile west of Edington Road station, it is said that a short length was discovered, bearing one way toward Burtle farm, and the other toward Woolavington or Cossington. Another piece has been found in the peat-moor to the south of C; but whether it belonged to the line just referred-to, or branched from it; or whether it was a part of a totally distinct way, could not be ascertained. It is very probable that many similar tracks, once forming a slender network of communications between the habitable lands in and around the ancient morasses, may yet remain buried in the superficial strata, unsuspected by any but the ditcher and the peat-cutter: and it is much to be desired that some local resident, with sufficient leisure, should industriously collect, and carefully record, every new scrap of information likely to throw light on the events of the past in these levels.

At the point A, the Abbot's Way was found at a depth of seven feet from the surface; the whole of the cutting being through compact peat which extends, it is said, to a farther depth of eleven or twelve feet, making eighteen or nineteen in all. Traces of decayed reeds, in a thin layer, were found at the level of the planking. At B, the road is only two feet

below the surface; the soil consisting of black peaty mould. Whether this difference of five feet in the depth of the road is due partially or entirely to a corresponding difference of superficial level, can be settled only by instrumental observation.

The illustrations clearly show the mode of construction. Rude slabs, split out of the tree with wedges, and averaging four feet nine inches in length, six to nine inches in width, and two to four inches in thickness, were bedded closely together transversely, with the flatter faces uppermost, and held down by two lines of stringers, of small whole timber, varying from one inch and a quarter to two inches in diameter, and three feet six inches to four feet apart, laid end-to-end with flat butt-joints, and kept in place by pegs of the same diameter, twenty to twenty-two inches in length, with flat heads, and rudely pointed at the lower ends, as with a blunt axe. These were driven into the peat at intervals of three feet, along the outside of the stringers, which were probably attached to them by means of withes, as no trace of nail-hole, pin, or necking is visible. The width across the road, between the centres of opposite pegs, was found to vary from three feet ten inches to four feet four inches. The pegs and stringers were of birch: some of the slabs were also of birch, and others perhaps of alder. Much of the bark still enveloped the round timber: pieces of the same were also found adhering to the under-sides and edges of the slabs. Most of the wood was somewhat decayed, spongy, and brittle—the smaller scantlings especially; but portions of the cross-pieces, kept till they were dry, proved tolerably sound, exhibiting, when cut, the natural color, grain, and texture. The round timber was generally flattened to an oval section by pressure of the superincumbent soil.

When we have gathered up all that is known on the subject, it will be seen how narrow is the basis whereon to build a theory as to the time when, the people by whom, and the purposes for which, this road was constructed; also as to the circumstances, and the date of its abandonment. At first sight,

the name seems to promise some clue to a rough approximation as to time, pointing to the term during which the Abbots of Glastonbury held the manor of Meare,—viz., from the year 670 to the dissolution of the monastery in 1545.¹ But an inquiry into the history of the appellation leads to the conclusion that it would be unsafe to found any presumptions upon it. Mr. Laver, the tenant at Honeygore, who has been on the farm since 1824, informs me that the path was accidentally discovered between forty and fifty years ago, during the life-time of his father, in cutting a rhine near A ; but it remained known only to the farmer and his men until Mr. Poole's attention was casually drawn to it in 1864, in the autumn of which year this Society visited and inspected a length which had been uncovered. This appears to have been about four years after the ownership of the estate had been transferred from the Phippens of Badgworth Court to a member of the Poole family; and nearly thirty years after the path had been found. Nine years later, the second length—that from which I took the measurements herein recorded—was laid bare. Mr. Laver states that he has always heard the name, *Abbot's Path* or *Way*, applied to the track since its discovery; but he cannot say whether such, or any distinctive name, was, before that event, traditional. If the title be ancient, it is not a little singular that it should have survived the long inhumation—certainly of several centuries; and if it be not, it is almost equally difficult to imagine how it can have been given to an object known only to those who would not be apt to hit upon the designation, who were ignorant of its bearings, and who regarded the discovery as so unimportant that they did not reveal it for nearly a generation.

Nor do physical indications, so far as they are yet known, help us much. Dealing with what we find, it is equally difficult to fix the time when the road was laid down, and that at which it ceased to be used. If we knew that the superincumbent peat had accumulated under uniform conditions, and if we had

(1). Notes at end.

any trustworthy scale of growth to apply to it,² we might then calculate very nearly the date at which the way was abandoned, by counting proportionately backward, and adding to the result the time that has elapsed since the peat has ceased to form, in consequence of the drainage of the level. But it is plain that the growth of the peat has been intermittent; for the Abbot's Way is buried in the middle of its thickness. It is also equally clear that, if we are guided (as we ought principally to be) by the *greatest* depth at which the road was found, (seven feet,) we shall have to show how it happened that at another spot, only half a mile off, the depth is reduced to two feet. Here is a discrepancy which, while unexplained, upsets all estimates built on such a basis; and, to solve the question, it will be necessary to disentangle the order, and evolve the duration, of the events which have marked the physical history of the turbary. I am, however, convinced that it is not yet possible to do this; for, on referring to the slight records of observations which are at our disposal, and to the theories of writers who have essayed the solution of the problem, it is abundantly evident that we must ask for a presentment of facts much more copious and complete than has yet been offered, before we are in a position to make a safe induction. The existing data, and past opinions, may be gleaned from the works and articles referred-to in the subjoined note,³ to which reference is here made, that those who wish to pursue the investigation may know where to glean the information which is already available. As a proof of the uncertainty which hangs around inquiries of this kind, playing upon a slender stock of facts, it is only necessary to remark that the estimates of the Rev. W. Phelps and of Professor Boyd Dawkins as to the age of the forest-bed overlying the Abbot's Way by several feet, differ by untold centuries.

But, amid all this obscurity as to time, a few points stand out clearly as land-marks in the sea of speculation. It is certain, for instance, that the Abbot's Way was laid down

after that part of the level had been flooded by stagnant fresh water long enough to grow nearly twelve feet of peat, and when it had been so far drained as to permit the use of a highway across it. It is equally certain that, to account for its preservation, we must assume that it was somewhat suddenly again laid under water, sufficiently deep, and for a sufficiently long period to allow of the growth of a protecting stratum of peat; and, whether by a continuance of these conditions, or by intermissions, it is clear that this peat afterward accumulated to the level of the forest-bed where its formation was arrested, and was resumed, after an interval marked by the age of the trees, added to the time required for either natural or artificial planting. And, furthermore, when it is recollected that these turf-moors are several (I believe about seven) feet below the level of the land at Highbridge, which itself, but for the sea-banks, would be overflowed by the waters of the Channel at the highest spring-tides; and that there is no record of silt having been found interlaid with the peat; it seems impossible to escape the conclusion, startling though it may be, that these lowlands were at a very early age protected from the sea by banks and sluices: for I can conceive of no conditions that, in this region of high tides, would be capable of sealing up the mouths of the rivers by natural causes, so that none but fresh water should have access to the areas of greatest depression. The theory of the pre-Roman embankment of the Somersetshire levels, hitherto, I believe, unsuspected, derives support from the fact, asserted by county historians, and corroborated by the existence of an ancient British camp on Brent Knoll, with which communication must have been maintained, that a British track-way traversed the marshes from Cross, by the back of the Knoll, to Highbridge, and onward. This was succeeded by a Roman road following nearly, if not exactly, the same course; and, afterward, by the modern road. Now, almost the whole of the present surface, on the line traversed by these roads, is still below the level of the highest tides: yet

the Roman road was found at, or near Highbridge, six feet deep in the alluvium, and nearly, or quite, on the top of the subjacent peat. It is most unlikely that the Romans would make a road liable, at almost every high tide, to be deluged with silty water; and it is only less improbable that the earlier British inhabitants should have committed the same mistake. Some may attempt to explain the matter by assuming a great subsidence of land during historic times: but, even if facts did not clearly contradict this, we should find ourselves face to face with difficulties not less than those arising from the former hypothesis.⁴

NOTES.

(1). Even if this theory of its origin be the true one, the use of the path must have been chiefly secular, and not to enable the monks to travel on their preaching expeditions; for it is recorded that the only churches belonging to the abbey which they personally served were those of Chilton, Catcot, Edington, Greinton, Sutton, Stawell, and Moorlinch,—all on the ridge south of the turf-moor, and directly accessible from head-quarters without crossing the marsh.

(2). The growth of peat is believed to vary enormously under varying conditions. The average rate is generally considered to be about six inches in a century; but I have received trustworthy information that it sometimes amounts to as much as two feet in the same period.

(3). List of works and papers referred-to; with summary of their chief points.

i. Leland's *Itinerary*, Vol. II, fol. 44. Description of Meare Pool.

ii. Phelps' *History of Somersetshire*, Vol. I, pp. 50, 51; 486-490; 568-570.

iii. *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, various papers and notices, as under:—

(a). *On the Turbaries between Glaston and the Sea*, by W. Stradling, Vol. I, ii, pp. 48-62. The author supposes that the sea, which anciently flowed up to and around Glastonbury, was, at a very distant era, recalled to its present boundaries, and kept there by natural causes;—consequently, that this was effected long before the Romans embanked (as is believed) the river Parret. He thinks a convulsion severed the Steep Holm from Brean Down; and that the ruins of the intervening land were washed into a bank along the sea-board below. At a subsequent period, a vast fresh-water lake extended from near Woolavington to Glastonbury, and was probably used as a fishery and a highway by the ancient Britons, and the Phœnician settlers. He proceeds to describe the objects found in the turbaries; but gives hardly any clue to locality or depth.

These discoveries are thus deprived of much of their value; and it is clearly unsafe to base any important theories upon them. Coins, and other remains, shew that the Romans inhabited the villages on Polden Hill, near Edington; and they probably drained a portion of the turbary for the sake of utilizing it as fuel. Before this was accomplished, the author supposes that a hurricane uprooted, and forced into the bog, the oak and yew trees imbedded therein at about a foot from the surface. In detailing researches at the pottery-mounds, where fragments of Roman ware, and coins, from A.D. 180 to 395, were found at depths of one foot to a foot and a half, apparently on an underlying bed of peat, some essential particulars are omitted.

(b). *On the Geology of Somerset*, by W. Baker, Vol. I, ii, pp. 127-139. See pages 136 and 137. Sandbanks, with recent shells, at Westonzoyland, Chedzoy, and other places, prove the existence of estuaries extending over the levels in recent geologic time. A bone of a mammoth was found at Chedzoy. Beds of peat occur at different depths under the alluvium, and are also superficial over large areas. They are found in the clay-pits, and other excavations near Bridgwater, from twelve to sixteen feet deep, which contain animal-bones, horns, shells, and trunks of trees. Mr. Anstice and the author found similar remains, and some pottery, mixed with sand, flints, grauwacke and gravel, nearly thirty feet below the surface, at Huntworth, near Bridgwater.

(c). *On Llongborth, of Llywarch Hen's Elegy*, by Rev. W. A. Jones, Vol. IV, ii, pp. 44-59. See pages 48 and 49. Westonzoyland, Chedzoy, and Middlezoy stand upon red-marl prominences, slightly raised above the level of the surrounding marshes, with banks of sea-sand resting against them. The same features are seen at Huntspill, Pawlet, and Chilton Trinity. At Chilton, the shell-sand is two or three feet below the surface. Most of the alluvial deposit in the district consists of a bluish clay and sea-silt. Near Crandon bridge, on the Parret, the alluvial deposit is from eight to ten feet deep over the peat. At Boroughbridge, the alluvium was found to be sixteen feet deep, on a fourteen feet bed of peat, resting on marl.

(d). *On the formation of Peat-bogs and Turbaries which extend from the Bristol Channel into the central parts of Somersetshire*, by Rev. W. Phelps, Vol. IV, ii, pp. 91-98. In this interesting paper, the processes by which the Somersetshire levels have been formed, and brought into their present condition, are thoughtfully, and, in the main, accurately traced. It should be carefully studied in connexion with the matter in hand.

(e). *On the formation of Marsh-peat*, by Rev. W. Phelps, Vol. IV, ii, pp. 98-107. This valuable paper describes the composition and formation of peat; and throws much light on our subject. The author refers to the discovery of heaps of Roman pottery and coin-moulds on a stratum of indurated peat, under seven feet of alluvium, at Highbridge; and says that traces of the Roman road from Cross were found in Brent Marsh at the depth of six feet from the surface.

He then notices the fact that a number of oaks, and other forest-trees, lie prostrate, imbedded, about two feet deep, in the superficial peat; and, in theorizing upon the causes of the overthrow and submergence of this forest, suggests, with great probability, that it grew during the period which elapsed between the draining of the lowlands by the Abbots of Glastonbury, at an early and uncertain date, and the dissolution of the monastery in 1545, after which the drainage-works were neglected, the water spread, and the trees decayed at the roots, and fell.

(f). *A young Turf-cutter's find in the Turbaries of Somerset*, by W. Stradling, Vol. V, ii, pp. 91-94. This paper, which is illustrated, describes the discovery of a box containing several bronze knives, rings, armlets, &c., in the peat; but there is no record of the spot or the depth at which the treasure was found.

(g). *On the Wookey Hole Hyæna-den*, by W. Boyd-Dawkins, Vol. XI, ii, pp. 197-219. See pages 217 to 219. After picturing the state of things during the later Pleiocene bone-cave period, the author contemplates a blank of enormous duration, during which the lion, bear, hyæna, rhinoceros and elephant became extinct,—a period of submergence, followed by an upheaval, still, he thinks, progressing, during which the shingle and sand fringing the levels were formed, and, afterward, the alluvial clay and the peat, the latter containing the remains of canoes, weapons, and other traces of man.

(h). *Note of a visit to the Abbot's Way, and the Westhay sand-banks, by the Members of the Society*, Vol. XII, i, p. 67.

(i). *Notice of raised-beaches at Burtle*, Vol. XV, ii, p. 49.

(k). *On the Ancient Geography of the West of England*, by W. Boyd-Dawkins, Vol. XVIII, i, pp. 26-31. After describing the situation of the sub-marine forest visible at Porlock, Minehead, and other spots on the coast of W. Somerset, in which worked flints have been found, he (somewhat hastily, as I think) identifies and connects it with the forests whose remains are found in the peat and alluvium of the Somersetshire levels. While prostrate oak-trees are very abundant in the ditches in the peat near Middlezoy, at Boroughbridge a forest is struck at the depth of eighteen feet. The author attributes its destruction to the silting-up of the rivers, by which their beds were raised, and the surrounding districts became flooded. Then the peat grew, and killed the trees, which were blown down: meanwhile the alluvium of the vales of Taunton, Bridgwater, Highbridge, and Weston-super-mare was deposited by the rivers, where their currents impinged upon slack-water; while around Shapwick, the peat, which is at least sixteen feet deep, comes to the surface. He states his belief that the forest to which reference has been made was destroyed at least as early as the neolithic age; and to an early stage in that period he refers the human traces in the submerged surface at Porlock and Minehead; but he cannot carry them back beyond the neolithic age, because remains of the *bos longifrons*, an animal not known in Europe at an earlier period, have been found in the same forest-surface near Barnstaple.

It seems to me that these conclusions as to the extreme antiquity of the turbary forest are not only not supported by the evidence of acknowledged facts,—few and fragmentary as these are,—but are directly disproved by some of them. *En passant*, I note that Mr. Boyd-Dawkins appears to make an assumption which I do not find borne out by Mr. Stradling's papers, that the neolithic weapons, whose discovery is recorded by him, lay at the bottom of the peat, and on the sub-turbary marl.

iv. *On the Manor-house, Meare, Somersetshire*, by Alexander Nesbitt; *Archæological Journal*, No. 38, June 1853, pp. 130-140. The mere or lake existed on the north side of the village until the beginning of this century. The manor came into the possession of the Abbey of Glastonbury in the year 670. In a terrier, dated 1517, the mere is said to be one mile in length, and three-quarters of a mile in breadth; while, in a survey made in 1539, the mere is described as being five miles in circuit, and a mile and a half across. The author of the paper explains this discrepancy by assuming that the former estimate was made in summer, and the latter in winter, quoting Leland, who says of the mere that it was "in winter a 4 miles in cumpace. When least $2\frac{1}{2}$, most commonly 3." At that time, vast areas of the manor were almost valueless, about 85 acres on the west of the mere being frequently under water; and on the north side was a moor, containing 3300 acres, which was chiefly covered with heath. In 1547, the manor was granted to the Duke of Somerset. "The most important event in the modern history of Meare is the drainage of the lake. Before the dissolution of the Abbey, great care was taken to keep in proper order the water-course called the *March Yeo*, which was cut in very early times from the Brue into the Axe, and which discharged the superfluous waters of the mere. When the lands in Meare, and in Brent Marsh, had passed into different hands, the due maintenance of this cut was neglected, and the lake extended itself over the neighboring moors. It was not till 1801 that effectual measures were taken to drain this district: an Act of Parliament was obtained; and, by deepening the outfalls of the rivers, and digging new cuts, a complete drainage has been effected."

(4). It may be interesting to compare the Abbot's Way with another ancient timber-road which was discovered at the depth of eight feet in the Kincardine Moss, in Scotland. Seventy yards of it were exposed to view: and it was found to be constructed "of trees about twelve inches in diameter, having other trees, of half this thickness, crossing them; and brushwood covering the whole." This work, which has been attributed to the Romans, traverses the moss "northward from a narrow part of the Forth towards a well-known line of Roman road which has been traced from a ford on the river Teith to Camelon on the Antonine Wall." Wilson's *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 34.

The Holy Thorn of Glastonbury.

BY E. CHISHOLM BATTEN, M.A.

G LASTONBURY stood in the summer of the year 1535, among the splendid Abbeys of England, in unrivalled magnificence. The successive labours of Abbots Selwood and Bere had raised piles of palatial buildings round the Abbey Church, and Whiting, who had shared in the pride of Wolsey's life, then reigned over the House with a princely liberality.

But the plague had begun; all Europe was aghast at the execution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, and Cromwell had just issued his ominous commission to visit the religious houses of England.

Dr. Layton was the visitor sent into Somersetshire. The Abbot of Muchelney (Thomas Yve) had prepared for the visitation by sending¹ £100 to Cromwell; and the Visitors somehow did not reach Muchelney. Layton went to Bruton and by Maiden Bradley to Glastonbury,² where he was on the 23rd August, 1535. On the next day (St. Bartholomew's Day), he writes from St. Augustine's at Bristol to Cromwell. "By this bringer, my servant," he writes, "I send you Relicks: First, two flowers wraped in white and black sarsnet, that on Christen Mass Even, *horâ ipsâ quâ Christus natus fuerat*, will spring and burgen and bare blossoms. *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of Mayden Bradley."

These must have been the flowers of the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury: and among the ruins of every thing else of that age, still flourish at Glastonbury, descendants of the Holy

(1). Letter, 15th June, 1535. Ellis' Orig. Letters, 3rd ser., vol. ii., p. 334.

(2). Abbot Whiting was not so quick as his brother Abbot of Muchelney, and only on the 26th August, three days *after* Layton's visitation, he sends to Cromwell a grant of the presentation to the living of West Monkton, near Taunton.

Thorn, whose two flowers seemed such a marvel to the Visitor, and which now, as then,

“Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.”¹

In this letter of Layton is contained the first mention of the flowering of the Holy Thorn of Glastonbury at Christmas tide. The earliest notice of its coming into leaf at Christmas is in a *Life of Joseph of Arimathæa*, printed in 1520, by Richard Pyerson, a pupil of Caxton.

“The Hawthornes also, that groweth in *Werall*
Do burge and bere grene leaves at Christmas
As fresh as other yn May, when ye Nightingale
Wrestes not her notes musycall as pure as glas;
Of al Wodes and Forestes she is ye chefe chauntress,
In wynter to synge if it were her nature,
In *Werall* she might have a playne place
On those Hawthornes to shewe her notes clere.”

The fact of the blossoming of the Holy Thorn of Glastonbury on Christmas Day is recorded again and again by successive writers. Gerald in his *Herball*, first published in 1596, says, “of the White Thorne, or Hawthorne tree, we have in the West of England one growing at a place called Glastonbury, which bringeth forth his flowers about Christmas by the report of divers of good credit who have seen the same; but myself have not seen it, and therefore leave it to be better examined;” and in dividing the classes of Hawthorne, he says, “The last [of the classes] groweth at Glastonbury Abbey, as it is credibly reported unto me.”

Camden, writing in Elizabeth’s reign (4th Ed. 1594) says, “I should be esteemed credulous in our age were I to mention the Cornel or Hawthorne [at Glastonbury], which buds on Christmas Day, as if it was May. Yet many credible persons, if we may believe their testimony, vouch these things for truth.”

In the first edition of Dugdale’s *Monasticon* there is a view of Glastonbury from Compton, in which is a representation of

(1). Tennyson, *The Holy Grail*, p. 36.

a tree on the slope of Wearyall Hill, with a note marking this tree as *Sacra Spina*. This was not published until 1655, but the engraving is by Hollar, and the drawing was probably made before 1652, if the engraving were after his return to England.

Bishop Goodman, of Gloucester, saw the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury, and writing in 1653 says, "The White Thorn at Glastonbury which did usually blossome on Christmas Day, was cut down: yet I did not heare that the party was punished."

This refers to the fact that just before he wrote during the Civil Wars, some fanatic cut down the old Thorn that grew at Wearyall Hill. The people of Glastonbury delighted to tell that the wretch was miserably wounded in carrying on the work of destruction by an avenging splint or chip from the Holy Tree. The Bishop goes on to say, and he is addressing the Lord General, Oliver Cromwell, "Certainly the Thorne was very extraordinary: for at my being there, I did consider the place, how it was sheltered: I did consider the soile, and all other circumstances, and yet I could find no natural cause."

Dr. Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1608 to 1618, presented the Christmas blossoms of the Holy Thorn to Queen Anne, wife of James the First.

Sir Charles Sedley, among the beaux and wits of Charles the Second's Court, had heard of the wondrous Thorn, and sings—

Cornelia's charms inspire my lays,
Who, fair in nature's scorn,
Blooms in the winter of her days,
Like Glastonbury Thorn.

Dr. Plot, who wrote in 1677, after the institution of the Royal Society, says, "And hither, I think, may be referred the Glastonbury Thorn, in the Park and Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Norreys, that certainly buds, and sometimes blossoms at or near Christmas. Whether this be a plant originally from Oxfordshire, or brought hither from beyond

seas, or a graft of the old stock of Glastonbury, is not easy to determine. But this much may be said on behalf of Oxfordshire, that there is one of them here so old, that it is now dying, and that if ever it were transplanted hither, it is far beyond the memory of men. As for the excellent and peculiar quality that it hath, some take it as a miraculous remembrance of the birth of Christ, first planted by Joseph of Arimathæa; others only esteem it as an earlier sort of Thorn peculiar to England; and others again are of opinion that it is originally a forreigner of some of the southern countries, and so hardy a plant, that it still keeps its time of blossoming (which in its own country might be about the end of December), though removed hither into a much colder climate. Whether of these is most probable, I shall not determine, but leave every reader best to please himself; and whatever more can be said of it, I shall reserve till I come into Somersetshire, where it is in greatest reputation and has been most observed."

Ashmole, writing about the same time, says, "I never heard nor read that any ancient author did mention this Thorne, which certainly they had not omitted, if there had been any such thing; and by the growthe of the Thorne, surely I do judge the age thereof to be much about the time of the Dissolution." Ashmole must be speaking of the stump of the Sacred Tree at Wearyall Hill, or perhaps only of some other of the plants which then flourished at Glastonbury.

A few years later, Aubrey, the Antiquarian, in his *Notes on Wiltshire*, says, "In Parham Parke, in Suffolke (Mr. Bontele's), is a pretty antient Thorne that blows like that at Glastonbury: the people flock thither to see it on Christmas Day.

"Dr. Ezreel Tony sayd that about Rummy Marsh (Romney) in Kent, are Thornes, naturally like that at Glastonbury. The soldiers did cut down that neer Glastonbury: the stump remains."

Ashmole tells us that "upon St. Stephen's Day, 1672,

Mr. Stainsby, an ingenious enquirer after things worthy of memorial, brought me a branch of Hawthorne, having greene leaves, fair buds and full flowers, all thick and very beautiful, and (which is more notable) many of the hawes or berries on it red and plump, some of which branch is yet preserved in the plant box of my collection [the origin of his Ashmolean Museum]. This he had from a Hawthorne tree, now growing at Sir Lancelot Lake's House, near Edgware, in Middlesex: concerning which, falling after into the company of the said Knight (7th July, 1673), he told me that the tree from which this branch was plucked, grew from a slip taken from the Glastonbury Thorn, about 60 years since, which is now a big tree, and flowers every winter about Christmas."

Down to this time, the only suggestion we find in any author, as to the supernatural character of the plant, is its flowering at Christmas tide; but the real tradition, dear to Somerset men, went far beyond this. What they delighted to say was that Joseph of Arimathæa stuck his walking staff¹ into the ground, when he rested after his ascent of Wearyall Hill, and that it grew. A Somersetshire ballad has the verse—

The staff het budded and het grew,
And at Christmas bloom'd the whole da droo,
And still het blooms at Christmas bright,
But best tha say at dork midnight.

Eyston, who wrote the *Little Monument of Glastonbury* in 1715, and was an enthusiastic Catholic and devoted Jacobite, records the legend: "I was told by the Innkeeper [at Glastonbury], where I set up my Horses, who rents a considerable part of the enclosure of the late dissolved abbey, that St. Joseph of Arimathæa stuck on Wearyall Hill his staff, being

(1). In the *Acta Sanctorum*, March 17, the day of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, there is a careful account of the traditions concerning him, but no allusion to the legend of the budding staff, nor is there in Watson, or Arnold or Catgrove. In the list of Saints with emblems, published by Husenbeth, are the emblems given to St. Joseph—

"A box of ointment and a budding staff,"

but no authority is referred to for these emblems.

a Dry Hawthorn Stick, which grew and continually budded and blew upon Christmas Day."

"Whether," adds Mr. Eyston, in a glow of credulity, "it sprung from St. Joseph of Arimathæa's Dry Staff, stuck by him in the ground, when he rested there, I cannot find, but beyond all question, it sprung miraculously."

Eyston says there were then divers trees taken from the old tree by grafting and inoculation. He specifies the localities in the town of Glastonbury, and adding that there was a person about Glastonbury who had a nursery of them, and sold them for a crown a piece, or as he could get.

On the introduction of the new style in 1753, the Somerset people seem to have expected another miracle, the *London Evening Post* records as follows: "Glastonbury. A vast concourse of people attended the noted Thorne on Christmas Day, new style, but to their great disappointment, there was no appearance of its blowing, which made them watch it narrowly the 5th of January, the Christmas Day, old style, when it blew as usual."

Botanists began now to look into the specific peculiarity of the plant. Ray had said that he thought it differed but accidentally from the common Hawthorn. Martyn said that it was a distinct variety, flowering usually in January or February, sometimes earlier; so that it may happen to be in flower on Christmas Day. Withering first gave it a distinct name, and distinguishes it as *Crataegus Oxyacantha Præcox*. He wrote about the beginning of the present century. He says, "It blossoms twice a year. The winter blossoms, which are about the size of a sixpence, appear about Christmas, but sometimes sooner. These produce no fruit. The berries contain only one seed, and there seemed only to have been one pistil; but it was late in the season when I examined it (Oct., 1792). I was informed that the berries, when sown, produce plants, nowise differing from the common Hawthorn."

The industrious and accurate Loudon dwells with particular

pleasure upon the Holy Thorn. "The most remarkable legend," he says, "connected with the Hawthorn, is that of the Glastonbury Thorn;" and his version makes it Christmas Day when S. Joseph arrived at the spot where he had been commanded to build a church in honour of the Virgin Mary; and finding that the natives did not appear inclined to believe in his mission, he prayed to God to perform a miracle to convince them. His prayer was at once answered; and on striking his staff into the ground, it immediately shot forth into leaves and blossoms.

There are now specimens of the Thorn in numerous places, both in Glastonbury and the neighbourhood, as they have during the last fifty years been propagated freely, and sold by the Glastonbury nurserymen.

The blossoms of the Christmas shoots are for the most part much smaller than the May ones, and do not produce any haws. The haws are of a very deep red colour, almost black; but plants grown from the haws do not retain the characteristics of the parent stem, and the Glastonbury gardeners propagate the Glastonbury Thorn by budding and grafting.

In an old number of the *Gardeners' Weekly Magazine*, it is stated that "the flowers of the venerable tree were long a favourite sign for hostleries, particularly in the vicinity of Glastonbury. Boson's Inn in St. Lawrence's Lane, London, is a corruption of "Blossoms' Inn." "Blossoms' Inn," it would seem, means an Inn having the sign of the holy blossoms of the Glastonbury Thorn.

The question arises, what is the origin of this plant? Is it a variety of the Hawthorn, or is it only an individual with peculiarities.

Miller, in his *Gardeners' Dictionary*, published in 1759, says the Glastonbury Thorn is a variety of the Hawthorn, and that it can be no other way propagated than by grafting or budding upon the other roots; and recommends it being budded on the White Beam.

Boswell's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, as quoted in the *Every Day Book* for 1826, says: "There are several of this species of Thorn in England, raised from haws sent from the East, where it is common. One of our countrymen, the ingenious Mr. Millar, raised many plants from haws brought from Aleppo, and all proved to be what are called Glastonbury Thorns. This exotic, or Eastern Thorn, differs from our common Hawthorn in putting out its leaves very early in spring, and flowering twice a year; for in mild seasons it often flowers in November or December, and again at the usual time of the common sort."

It must be remembered that the position of the Holy Thorn on the slope of the south side of Wearyall Hill, was just adjoining the fields called the Vineyards, which are noted in Abbot Bere's terrier.

Gough, in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, in 1759, says: "It is common in the Holy Land, and flowers at the same time."

The Morocco Thorn, a native of Morocco, was introduced into England in 1812. It produces its leaves very early in the season; in mild seasons even in January; and there is a Siberian Thorn, introduced about the same year, that begins to put forth its leaves in January: but neither of these has the peculiarity of the Glastonbury Thorn—that of flowering twice; once early, and producing flowers which form no fruit, and then again at the same time as other thorns, and which later flowers produce fruit.

The habit of the plant would induce the belief that it is a variety, and comes from some region where the transition from winter to summer was more abrupt than in Palestine.

The Siberian Crab affords an illustration. The winters of Siberia are intensely cold, the change to summer is sudden, and the heat equally violent. Our own change of temperature is much slower, and more irregular. Thus, when our native Crab scarcely shows signs of life, the Siberian variety puts

forth it leaves, blossoms, and bears fruit, early, even in an unfavourable season.

The circumstance of the early flowers of the Glastonbury Thorn not coming to maturity by producing seed is easily explained by the want of that heat which would in its own climate follow the first warmth of the opening year.

A writer in *Notes and Queries* quotes a botanical writer as saying that the Glastonbury Thorn is a native of Siberia, a variety of the *Oxyacantha Strathyphylus*.

Other authorities say that the Glastonbury Thorn differs only from the ordinary Hawthorn in its early flowering; and that this is a peculiarity of the individual—but not of this individual alone, for early flowering Hawthorns are not unknown—just as early flowering chestnuts and other plants are known; and that consequently there is no native country for the Glastonbury Thorn, except where it now grows.

It is remarkable if it is only an individual, and not a variety, that for three hundred and fifty years the peculiarity of the tree has been preserved in its progeny.

I own my opinion would incline to the belief that it is a variety belonging to a far different climate from ours, and that some pilgrim from the Holy Land brought from thence a plant, which, even in Palestine, was distinguished by its early bloom, and there acquired a character of sanctity from its flowering

Even in winter wild,
While the Heaven-born Child,
All meanly wrapped, in the rude manger lay.

Section of Strata near Shapwick.

IN 1880 a boring was undertaken in the turf moor near the Shapwick railway station, for the purpose of obtaining water from below the peat. Mr. Hosier, who superintended the work, communicated to the meeting of the Society at Glastonbury the following results of the boring, showing the thickness and order of the strata passed through:—

	Ft.	In.
Peat	16	0
Blue clay, containing "lime wash"	9	10
Clay and sand	5	0
Sand—hard, clean, sharp, like silver sand ..		10
Quick sand	14	3
Clay, containing sand	4	6
Peat, very dense, containing sticks, leaves, &c. ..		4
Sand and gravel	4	2
Gravel, containing ragged pieces of lias ..		11
Blue clay	1	6
Peat, containing rushes and roots, well preserved		3½
Black earth, containing gravel, very dense ..	2	0
Gravel, sharp and broken	1	7
Shale, perfectly dry		10½
Lias rock, containing vertical veins of white spar.		

The work was stopped after penetrating about 8 feet into this layer.

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Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.
The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.
Society for the Promotion of Natural Sciences, Vienna

Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archæology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the County of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such special Meetings and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the Official business has been transacted.

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by twelve Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings and Sixpence on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings and Sixpence as an annual subscription, which shall become due on the first of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when they shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society shall (with the author's consent, and subject to the discretion of the Committee), be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

XVIII.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society.

XIX.—Any person contributing books or specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit books or specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the county of Somerset.

October, 1881.

* * *It is requested that contributions to the Museum or Library be sent to the Curator, at the Taunton Castle.*



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- 480 Yatman, Rev. J. A. *Winscombe, Weston-super-Mare*

Members are requested to inform either of the Secretaries of any errors or omissions in the above list ; they are also requested to authorise their Bankers to pay their subscriptions annually to Stuckey's Banking Company, Taunton ; or to either of their branches ; or their respective London Agents, on account of the Treasurer.

(Continued from Vol. xxv.

Et pro iij plankes et iiij^{or} le sillis ad jacendum sub predictis
plankes cum manu j^{us} carpentarii operantis circa dictum
opus iij^s v^d

Et pro j arbore empto apud Hentyns wode ijs iiij^d

Et pro le squareinge dicti arboris ijs Et pro cariacione ejusdem ijs

Et pro le Sawynge vij c Mens' vij^s

Et pro le pavinge j^{us} sepulture in dicta ecclesia ubi dominus Joh^s

Wadehyll clericus sepultus erat iij^d

Et pro ij^{bus} torticiis novis pro dicta ecclesia ponderis xl librarum
x^s

Et pro emendacione j^{us} le sacringe bell iij^d

..

Et pro ij^{bus*} buscellis viridium fabarum cuidam anniversario
pertinencium cum factura ejusdem in potagium viij^d

..

No. 53.

A.D. 1508-9.

Compotus Joh^s Kennte et Joh^s Walley . . An^o Regni Regis
Hen^{ci} vijⁱ xxiiij^{to} usque an^o regni regis Hen^{ci} viij post con-
questum Anglie primo

(Earlier entries as usual.)

RECEPCIO DENARIORUM, (mostly the same.) . . . Et pr iiij^d receptis
pro jⁱ classico pulsato pro anima Wi Stronge tempore suarum
exsequiarum in ecclesia dicendarum hoc an^o

Et de xij de incremento lani ovium Ecclesie hoc an^o

Et de v^s vj^d ob receptis de j^a servisia facta per dictos parochianos
ad proficium dicte ecclesie hoc an^o

..
..

EXPENSE. Et pro emendacione le canope super sacramentum domini
nostri Jhesu Christi alto altari cum j corda eidem canope ij^d

Et pro emendacione j^{us} calicis dicte ecclesie viij^d

..

* This entry occurs again in the next two rolls.

Et pro selebone'* ij calicum dicte ecclesie xij^d

Et pro le smoke ferthinges j^d

Et pro le Ore fasse† supponendo diversis vestimentis postquam lavati fuerint hoc anno vj^d

Et solvisse Johⁱ Coffyne pro suo excessu an^o xxiiij^{to} Regis Hen^{ci} vijⁱ pro officio procuratoris ejusdem ecclesie vj^s

.. .. .

No. 54.

A.D. 1511-12.

Computus Th. Palmere et Joh^s Clement A^o Hen^{ci} viijⁱ iij^o usque iv^o

(*Early entries as usual.*)

RECEPCIO DENARIORUM

Et de vj^s viij^d receptis ex dono et legacione domⁱ Ric^{di} Estyntone nuper vicarii de Stall ad usum et proficium istius ecclesie

Et de ix^s pro ij^{bus} lignis venditis Th^e Style et aliis et pro ligniculis ejusdem venditis diversis personis hoc. an^o

Et de xvj^d ex dono et legacione Hen^{ci} Tokere ad usum et proficium ejusdem ecclesie hoc. an^o

Et de ij^s pro conductu j^{us} par forpicium‡ full' hoc an^o nuper ex dono Ric^{di} Carpenter decessi.

Et de xx^d pro lavacione ovium dicte ecclesie hoc an^o

Et de iiij^d pro uno classico pulsato pro anima Th^e Charumbure de Hampton hoc. an^o

Et de xxij^d de j^a servisia facta per parochianos ad proficium dicte ecclesie hoc an^o

EXPENSE. Et pro custodio ovium ecclesie in tempore estatis v^d

Et pro legendis emptis et jactatis in libro missalis ij^d

Et pro falcacione j^{us} arboris iij^d

Et pro factura iiij^{or} duodenis sub bosci ij^s

Et pro iiij^{or} ulnis linee emptis pro emendacione ij par albarum cum factura earundarum iiij^s v^d

Et pro apporicionem ij par le orfas ij albarum iij^d

Et pro mundifectura candelabri et bacene erga festum Pasche j^d

Et pro factura cerei regalis in festo Pentecostis j^d

* ? Celebracione.

† The Orfreys, or gold frieze.

‡ ? The hire of a pair of fuller's shears.

(Numerous repairs.)

Et pro conductu j^{us} equi et j^{us} mercenarii j^a die vj^d

Et pro labore j^{us} mercenarii cum conductu j^s equi ij^s

Et pro hamis et twistes in ten^o Th. Sqwall* x^d

Et pro j^o lode tegularum ij^s iiij^d Et pro ij^{bus} saccis calcitris viij^d

Et pro manu ij^{rum} tegulatorum operancium iiij^{or} diebus et dim.
in tasco super ten^m Willⁱ Williams iiij^s

Et pro manu j^{us} operarii pro coquina deponenda J^s Powelles viij^d

Et pro vj semis equinis zabuli iiij^d

Et pro candelis provenientibus cum pane benedicto apud Walcote.

ANNIVERSARIA, &c., as before.

No. 55.

A.D. 1516-17.

Computus Joh^s Gunner et Petri Moltun An^o Hen^{ci} viijⁱ septimo
usque octavo.

(Early entries as before.)

RECEPTUS DENARIORUM.

Et de vj^s receptis in festo Pasche ad lumen trabis† cereum
paschalem et fontis cereum hoc an^o

Et de ij^s ij^d pro candelis provenientibus de pane benedicendo hoc
an^o

Et de ij^s iiij^d pro lane ovium dicte ecclesie hoc an^o

Et de vj^d pro j classico pulsato pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis
hoc an^o

Et de xx^d receptis de Thoma Brayne pro straia ardente hoc an^o

Et de j^d ob. pro lignis venditis hoc an^o

RESOLUCIO REDDITUS, as before.

INCREMENTUM REDDITUS, xxj^s †DEFECTUS REDDITUS, xlix^s j^d

New names: T. Gudeyne, D. Jeke, J. Mors, J. Gyfford, Alice
Habynte.

EXPENSE.

Et pro sarrura sex centum et quadraginta mensarum viij^s vij^d

* A new name.

† For the explanation of this, see pp. 11-12 of "Churchwardens' Accounts." Here it probably means the moveable wooden frame for the fifteen candles, one of which is extinguished after each psalm of the Nocturn and Lauds Service, during Holy Week, in Roman Catholic Churches.

‡ All returns seem to show falling off of income this year.

Et T. Row operantis ij^{bus} diebus viij^d

..

Et Johⁱ brydde pro manibus suis operanti per spacium tres decim
dierum circa diversa tenementa, et j^o servienti ei per predictum
spacium x^s iiij^d

Et pro ij^{bus} decem duodenis Culmi iiij^s iiij^d

..

Et pro portacione mensarum de elmeys iiij^d

Et pro emendacione j^{us} sedis in dicta ecclesia iiij^d

Et Walt^o Merche pro pendente ij de campane ij^s Et Johⁱ Slegge
pro emendacione rerum eidem pertinencium vij^d

Et pro rota campane Johⁱ Helme v^s Et dicto Johi pro emen-
dacione de le frame pro pendacione campane xij^d

Et Walt^o Merche pro pendente j^{us} campane et pro factura rerum
eidem pertinencium x^s Et pro dicta campane cum bactillo
ejusdem xl^s

Summa vij^{li} iiij^s iiij^d

No. 56.

A.D. 1518-19.

Computus Domini *Petri Melsum et Magistri Joh^s Kent An^o
regni Regis Hen^{ci} viijⁱ novo usque decimo.

(*Entries very pale and ill-written, but apparently as usual.*)

RECEPCIO.

Et de ii^s iiij^d receptis de Th. buckeler pro stipendio parr' sis-
serium† hoc an^o

Et de viij^s de j servisia facta per Joh^{on} Wodewarde ad proficium
ecclesie.

Et de x^s de j servisia facta per Joh^{on} Coffyne ad proficium dicte
ecclesie hoc an^o

Et de ij^s viij^d pro lane bidencium dicte ecclesie isto an^o

Et de xiiij^d pro lignis venditis hoc an^o

..

EXPENSE.

Et pro emendacione pistrine ten^o Williⁱ Baker xxxiiij^s iiij^d

Et Wal^o Merche pro pendente ij^e campane, et pro clavis et
verellis‡ xvj^d

* He was Rector of S. Michael's.

† ? Butchers.

‡ Spindles ?—bolts.

Et Th. belleter de borstellis iiij^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d Et pro reparacione
de le bawdrykes iiij^s ij^d

..

Et Magistro Chapman pro xij peciis meremii xjs^s

Et pro ij^{bus} libris dicte ecclesie vs^s iiij^d

Et solvisse smoke quadrantes iiij^d ob.

(Many repairs.)

No. 57.

A.D. 1522-3.

Computus Th. Squall et Ric^{di} Kyppynge An^o Hen. viijⁱ tercio
decimo usque xiv^{mo}

*..

RECEPCIO.

Et de ijs^s pro conductione octo ovium dicte ecclesie sic conductorum
hoc an^o

Et de iiij^d receptis de Joh^e Warrene pro sede in ecclesia hoc an^o

Et de viij^d receptis pro conductione jus scale tegularum sic con-
ducte hoc an^o

(Very numerous repairs.)

EXPENSE.

Et cementario† operanti iiij^{or} diebus xxj^d Et pro v^e vehiculis
Lapidum xx^d

Et solvisse plumbilario de Mendepe viij^d

Et pro meremio et mensis emptis de Magistro Chappeman et
Mag^{tro} Steyner dicte ecclesie vjs^s Et pro clavis et lattis dicte
ecclesie xiiij^d ob.

Et tegulario operanti super dictam ecclesiam ijs^s

Et Carpentario pro emendacione Turris factura crucis et ij le
gutters dicte ecclesie iiij^s viij^d

Et pro c (?) et ferro Cruci turris v^d

..

Et plumbilario pro cooperacione turris et ij le gutteri dicte eccle^e
iiij^{li} vjs^s viij^d

..

Summa totalis omnium misarum et expensarum cum obitibus
Joh^s Bode xv^{li} xvij^s ij^d ob.

* Repeated in the next roll.

† Mason. The word is new.

No. 58.

A.D. 1525-6.

Compotus Th. Palmere et Th. Parkere An^o Hen. viijⁱ xvj^o usque
xvij^o

(Early entries as before.)

RECEPCIO.

Et de ij^s iiij^d rec^s pro diversis classicis pulsatis pro animabus
Matris domini Prioris Bathonie et aliorum hoc an^o

Et de ij^s pro meremio dicte ecclesie sic vendito hoc an^o

Et de vij^d de j^o anulo vendito hoc an^o

.. .. .

EXPENSE.

Et pro manu diversorum latamorum operancium in diversis ten^s
dicte ecclesie cum manu operarii servientis circa dictum opus
xxv^s

Et pro manu divirorum carpentariorum circa diversas repara-
ciones ibidem fiendas xxv^s iiij^d

Et pro iiij^{bus} carucatis tegularum xij^s Et pro j mille de lathes iiij^s

Et pro ij mille de lathe nayles xx^d Et pro mille de borde nayles
iiij^s iiij^d

Et pro xx^{ti} saccis calcitris vj^s viij^d Et pro manu j^{us} Tegulatoris
cum lez crestes occupatis circa dictum opus et coquinam ejusdem
xiiij^s x^d

Et pro diversis reparacionibus in lez trussynge campanarum v^s vj^d

Et pro j^o novo suppellicio cum factura ejusdem viij^s viij^d ..

Et pro emendacione lez clapperes campanarum ij vicibus v^s iiij^d

(Very many repairs.) Summa xiiij^{li} xiiij^s

Summa totalis omnium misarum et expensarum cum obitibus
xviij^{li} xv^s ij^d

No. 59.

A.D. 1527.

*(It will be seen that this roll is not an annual account, but a return of
all the property of the parish by the Churchwardens.)*

Ordinatum est per rectorem et parochianos Ecclesie parochialis
Sti Michaelis extra Portam borialem dicte Civitatis quod
Procuratores ejusdem Ecclesie reddant Compotum suum an-
nuatim die domonica proxima post Festum undecim milium
Virginum imperpetuum sub pena forisfacture dicte ecclesie
contrarium in hoc facientis j^m libram cere.

Rentale omnium reddituum terrarum et tenementorum diete
Ecclesie pertinencium factum et renovatum tempore Thome
Parkere et Thome Keat procuratorum ibidem prout patet per
quatuor anni terminos subsequentes ibidem usuales, videlicet
ad et pro termino Nativitatis Domini, Annunciacionis beate
Marie Virginis, Nativitatis Sti Johannis baptiste et Sti Michaelis
Archangeli, anno regni regis Hen^{ci} octavi post conquestum
Anglie *xviij^o

Walcote. De ten^o nuper in tenura Rob^{ti} at Walle modo gardino
et in tenura Ric^{di} Playce per an : ad iiij^r anⁱ terminos viij^d

De j^o particulo Clausi per Abonam et juxta Cornewell modo in
tenura Edithe Cheppmane per an: ad iiij^{or} anⁱ terminos xvj^d

Walcotestrete. De ten^o modo in tenuta Th. Rode quondam
Rob^{ti} at Walle ad iiij^{or} anⁱ terminos vj^s

De ten^o modo in tenura Rob^{ti} Goodynowe quondam Joh^s Brydde
per an : ad iiij^{or} anⁱ terminos iiij^s

De ten^o modo in tenura Th. Goodenowe quondam Th. Holtt, per
an : ad ⁱⁱⁱj^{or} anⁱ terminos vj^s

De teno modo in tenura Joh^s Baylye quondam Joh^s Croke glover
per an. ad iii^{jor} anⁱ terminos vij^s

De ten^o modo in tenuta Joh^s Peseley quondam Galfr^{di} Carpentere
per an. ad iiiij^{or} anⁱ terminos vij^d

De ten ^o modo in tenuta Th. Buckelere quondam Th. Roche per	
an. ad iiij ^{or} ani terminos	x ^s

De ten^o modo in tenuta Joh^s Warrene quondam Joh^s Pochyne
per an. ad iiiij^{or} anⁱ terminos x^s

De ten^o modo in tenuta Th. Balyne sen^{is} quondam Rogeri Hobbes
per an. ad iii^j or anⁱ terminos x^s

De ten^o Margarete Batyne vidne .. Rogⁱ Tokere
per xv]^s

De ten^o Rectoris ibidem vocato Rectoria per an. semel in an^o xij^d

[illegible]

De ten ^o	..	..	..	Th ^e Brygge	..	..	Galfridi Lawrence
per	..	..	..	..	..	..	iii ^s

Summa iiij^{li} xviij^{s} iiij^{d}

* This rental is henceforth referred to as the correct one.

Bradestrete. De ten^o modo in tenura Th. Bonde at's Smythe quondam

Ric^{di} Foster per an. ad iiij^{or} anⁱ terminos xx^s

De una stabulo Th. Keyne juxta Alford

Ric^{di} Dyer per iiij^s

De uno Stabulo.. .. Willⁱ Jonsone proper Alford ..

Rob^{ti} Batyne per iiij^s

De ij^{bus} shopis Th^e Batyne jun^{is} prope portam
borialem quondam Joh^s Peeres per.. .. ix^s

De ten^o Willⁱ Jonsone quondam ex dono
et feoffamento Joh^s Wyshedome per xiiij^s

De ten^o modo in tenura Ric^{di} Pleyce quondam Willⁱ Cartere per
an. ad iiij^{or} anⁱ terminos x^s

De ten^o Edw^{di} Denmede Joh^s Balle
per vj^s

De j^o Clauso vocato Culverhowse close modo Th. Palmer quon-
dam Radulphi Hunt per vj^s viij^d

De ten^o Joh^s Cappere Ric^{di} Cryckett
per vij^s

De ten^o Th. Kentt Willⁱ Osborne
per x^s

Summa iiij^{li} xvj^s viij^d

Froggelane. De procuratoribus Communitatis Bathonie pro j^o gardino
nuper cotagii quondam in tenura Rob^{ti} Walley per an. xiiij^d

De j^o Gardino modo in tenura Ric^{di} Kyppinge quondam J^s Roche
per iiij^s

De j^o cotagio dicti Ric^{di} Kyppinge Dionisii Dyere
per.. .. ij^s viij^d

De ten^o dicti Ric^{di} Kyppinge Rogeri Hobbes
per.. .. xij^s iiij^d

Summa xxj^s ij^d

Stallstrete. De procuratoribus Communitatis Bathonie pro Cotagio
annexato Hospicium lez belles quondam in tenura Ric^{di} Wyde-
combe per an. vj^d

De ten^o Rob^{ti} Walley .. Joh^s Kynge
per v^s

Summa v^s vj^d

RESOLUCIO	De quibus solvisse de j ^o gardino apud Walcote
REDDITUS SUPRADICTI.	quod Ric ^s Pleyce modo tenet pro longabulo
	Domini Regis ij ^d
	De ten ^o in Walcotestrete quod Th. Rode modo tenet et inhabitat
	pro longabulo D ⁱ Regis xij ^d
	De ten ^o Th. Goodynow modo inhabitat pro redditu
	resoluto procuratoribus communitatis ij ^s
	De eodem ten ^o pro longabulo Di Regis semel in an ^o iij ^d
	De ten ^o Joh ^s Baylye
	pro redditu resoluto Magistro Sti Joh ^s Baptiste Bathonie xv ^d
	De ten ^o Phil ^s Denmede modo tenet pro
	redditu resoluto Abbati Sti Augusti Bristollie xx ^d
	De ten ^o quod Walt ^s Ryché quondam tenuit pro redditu resoluto
	Cofferariis Communitatis Bathonie xij ^d
	De eodem ten ^o pro longabulo di Regis semel in an ^o vij ^d
	De ten ^o in Walcotstrete quod Margareta Batyne modo inhabitat
	pro redditu resoluto Rectori ecclesie iij ^s iij ^d
	De eodem ten ^o pro longabulo di Regis semel in an ^o iij ^d
	De iij ^{bus} schopis quod Th. Batyne modo inhabitat prope portam
	borialem pro longabulo di Regis xij ^d
	De Cotagio in Frogglane quod Ric ^s Kypping modo tenet pro
	redditu resoluto procuratoribus Communitatis Bathonie xij ^d
	De ten ^o in Bradestrete quod Rob ^s Hylles modo inhabitat pro
	redditu resoluto Magistro Sti Joh ^s Baptiste xvj ^d
	De eodem ten ^o pro longabulo di Regis semel in an ^o j ^d ob.
	De loco ubi Campanile est edificatum j ^d
	De ten ^o in Walcotestrete quod Joh ^s Warrene modo inhabitat pro
	longabulo di Regis ij ^d ob.
	De ten ^o in Bradestrete quod Rob ^s Hylle
	.. .. ij ^d ob.
	De ten ^o in Staliestrete quod Rob ^s Walley modo inhabitat pro
	longabulo di Regis xij ^d
	De ten ^o in Bradestrete quod Th ^s Smythe
	pro ij ^d
	De ten ^o in Walcotestrete quod Margareta Batyne
	pro redditu resoluto procuratoribus Com ^s Bathonie v ^d

No. 60.

A.D. 1528-9.

Compotus Ric^{di} Kyppynge et Th^e Kene An^o Hen^{ci} viijⁱ xix usque
xx^{mo}

.. ..
.. ..

RECEPCIO. Et de iiiij^d pro uno classico pulsato pro anima Edithe
uxoris Robⁱ Vyntorye et anima uxoris Th. Cheppane hoc. an^o
Et de ij^s ex conductione ovium dicte ecclesie hoc an^o

EXPENSE. Et pro correo equino empto pro emendacione lez baw-
derickes campanarum cum emendacione ejusdem vij^d
.. ..

(*Very numerous repairs.*)

Et pro deposicione j^{us} penticii de ten^o Th. Bond iij^d

Et pro emendacione j^{us} Vestis pendentis ultra fontem et pro j^a
corda pro pensura ejusdem ij^d

Et pro manu j^{us} latami pro factura j^{us} lez poynowne de ten^o T.
Brigg iiiij^s ij^d

(*Half this Roll is wanting.*)

No. 61.

A.D. 1531-2.

Compotus T. Palmere et T. Parkere an^o Hen^{ci} viijⁱ xxij^o usque
xxij^o

(*All early entries as usual.*)

EXPENSE. *Many repairs* . . Et pro uno vexillo de cerico pendente
super crucem empto hoc an^o xij^s

Et pro carragio diversarum carucatarum meremii cum pane sibo
et potu expeditis super carriationem ejusdem viij^s

Et pro ferramentis occupatis ad trussuram nove campane, cum
manu j^{us} Carpentarii operantis super deposicionem et supposi-
cionem dicte campane cum sibo et polio et aliorum operancium
circa dictum opus v^s j^d

Et pro j^a libra de wyre occupato circa orilogium dicte ecclesie vj^d

Et pro manu j^{us} carpentarii pro dolacione et quadrepertura
meremii ij^s

Et pro spinis ad facturam sepium Columbarii cum manu j^{us}
operarii operantis ad dictum opus xx^d

.. ..

No. 62.

A.D. 1532-3.

Compotus Th. Parkere et Joh^s Clement an^o Hen^{ci} viijⁱ xxij^o
usque xxiiij^{to}

(Early entries as usual.)

EXPENSE. Et de iiij^d ob. pro clavis et emendacione clasporum nove
campane.

Et de iij^s pro emendacione lingule ad novam campanam.

Et de viij^d pro le barbyng de le Treble Belle.

Et de iij^d pro ij^{bus} claspis et clavis ad le Sanctus Belle.

Et de viij^d pro ij^{bus} oneribus equinis altero sabuli altero calcitris
occupatis circa diversas reparaciones tenementorum ecclesie.

Et de iiij^d solutis Custodibus vel Vigilibus luminibus sepul-
cralibus hoc an^o

Et de xxij^d pro factura xlv librarum cere erga festum Pasche.

Et de ij^d pro expolicione candelaborum et aliarum rerum dite
ecclie.

Et de ij^s vij^d pro reparacione tenⁱ Wⁱ Bosshe hoc an^o prout patet
billis hic in compoto exhibitis.

Et de xvij^s j^d ob. pro reparacione et punctuacione turris ecclesie
hoc an^o prout patet billis particularum hic in compoto ostensis.

Et pro j^d vectura lapidum tegularum ad opus dicte ecclesie hoc
an^o iiij^s

..
..

No. 63.

A.D. 1533-4.

Compotus Joh^s Clement et M. Joh^s Kent defuncti An^o Hen^{ci}
viij^{vi} xxiiij^{to} usque xxv^{to}

RECEPCIONES. Et de ij^s de conductione octo ovium dicte ecclesie hoc
an^o

Et de iiij^d ex dono* M. Willⁱ Sherwod vicarii de Stalles in
pleno compoto.

Et de iiij^d pro hegge wood vendito hoc an^o

EXPENSE.

* The same sum appears again from the Vicar of Stalles the two next years,
ex devocione ad usum ecclesie.

Et de iij^s vj^d pro resarcione diversorum vestimentorum et bukram ad idem.

Et de ij^s vj^d pro rebendacione* melioris vestimenti.

Et de iiij^{li} xl^s viij^d ob. solutis circa reparationem quorundam tenementorum dicte ecclesie prout patet billis particularum hoc in compoto ostensis hoc an^o

No. 64.

A.D. 1534-5.

Compotus Joh^s Clement et T. Parker an^o Hen^{ci} viij^{vi} xxv^{to} usque xxvj^{to}

(Early entries as before.)

EXPENSE. Et de xiiij^d pro effosione ij^m onerum lapidum.

Et de viij^d pro cariagio eorundem.

Et de ij^s ij^d solutis ij^{bus} lathamibus laborantibus circa le ovene.

Et de x^d operario per ij^{os} dies et pro sabulo ad dictum opus.

Et de ij^s x^d pro serracione meremii in Taskeworke.

Et de ij^s viij^d pro factura j^{us} rote ad le treble belle.

Et de iiij^d ob. pro ij^{bus} cordis vulgariter vocatis lynes ad usum Ecclesie.

Et de viij^d pro j Rondo Corii ad reparandum le Bawderykes campanarum.

Et de ij^s ix^d pro emendacione campanarum et trussione earundem et pro pipes pro le ropes et clavis.

Et de j^d † soluto in visitacione domini Cantuariensis.

.

Et de xij^d solutis pro prandiolo Gardianorum‡ et Auditoris hujus compoti.

Et de j^d soluto pro arrestacione bonorum Matilde Stronge vidue

IN DORS. Et elegerunt Th. Parker et dom Will^m Ffyscher Rectorem in procuratores pro an^o seq^{te} et juraverunt eosdem ad fideliter exequandum dictum officium. Quibus deliberatum est in compoto in pecuniis xxvij^s vj^d et in plegiis ad xliij^s item ij anuli ex argento deaurato et ij studdes ex argento et lapidem (sic) crystalli.

* ? Binding with new ribands, *reband* and *riband* are both used. Gall. *ruban*.

† This was Cranmer's Metropolitanical Visitation.

‡ These titles occur here for the first time.

No. 65.

A.D. 1535-6.

Computus T. Parkere et di Wi ffyschere Rectoris ibidem, an^o
 Hen^{ci} viij^{vi} xxvj^{to} usque an^o dicti Regis xxvij^{mo} vid^t per j^m au^m
 integrum.

(Early entries as usual.)

REDDITUS ASSISE, *xlii xx^d

RECEPCIONES. Et de ij^s de conductione seu Firma ovium Ecclesie
 hoc an^o

Et de iij^s iiij^d receptis pro j^o eneo vendito Tannaro hoc an^o

Et de iij^s iiij^d receptis de Matilda Stronge ex dono Joh^s Horton
 hoc an^o

Et de x^d pro iiij semes bosci venditis hoc an^o

EXPENSE.

Et de ij^s iiij^d solutis pro ij^{bus} libris ad usum ecclesie.

Et de iiij^s ij^d ob. pro vij alnis de bokeram ad duo suppellicia nova.

Et de vij^d pro factura cordium suppellicii.

Et de vj^s iiij^d pro manu j^{us} Tegulatoris cooperiendi duos perche
 cum dimidio super Ecclesiam et emendendi diversos defectus.

Et de vj^s iiij^d pro manu j^{us} cementarii operandi super ten^m Edw^{di}
 Denmede in le Taxwerk.

Et de v^d pro v burdinis masii. Et de vij^s iiij^d pro ij^{bus} lodis de
 Tyllestone.

Et de ij^d expensis super fabrum ferrarium qui fecit le clapper ad
 campanam tenoris.

Et de xij^s iiij^d pro factura de le Clappere ad magnam Campanam

Et de ij^d pro pinna ad le Bawderic' de le Tenor belle et emen-
 dacione fibuli ejusdem

Et de ij^s v^d pro xiiij^{cim} semis de Frithyng roddes occupatis
 super ten^m Waltⁱ Wevere in Walcottstrete.

Et de viij^d pro centum lathes ad faciendum laticiam pro fenestris
 Turris.

Et de xx^d solutis vicario de Stalles pro ingrossacione hujus Compoti.

Et elegerunt dominum W. ffyscher Rectorem et Walt. Taillour
 in Procuratores pro an^o sequente. Quibus deliberatum est

* Last year xli xvij^s

in Compoto in pecuniis xix^s x^d Et in plegiis xxxiiij^s x^d vide-
licet, in j^a pecia albi panni x^s Et j lumba Ric^{di} Gilberti viij^s
in j magna patella xij^s in j parva patella iij^s v^d
Item in iij^{bus} annulis cum j studdo argenti deaurati.

No. 66.

A.D. 1536-7.

Hen. viij, xxvij—xxviij.

RECEPCIONES, *as usual, with* iij^s iiij^d receptis de dono et legacione
domini Chancelir hoc an^o

EXPENSE.

Et de xxviij^s iiij^d solutis cuidam White pro campana.

Et de ij^d pro ij^{bus} rochettis faciendis.

Et de viij^s pro j clapper ad campanam.

Et de xv^d pro iij c clavorum assen. .

Et de xvjd pro dimidio c assen.

Et de x^d pro le Trussynge magne campane, stioppis, clavis, et
wedgis ad eandem. *Numerous repairs, but no variations of
prices—the rest as usual. The new Wardens being sworn.*

Quibus deliberatum est in Compoto in pecuniis xxviij^s iiij^d Et in
plegiis vid^t in j magna patella ix^s in j pecia albi panni x^s in j
lumba viij^s in j toga furrata x^s in j tunica . . . coloris ij^s iiij^d
in j lumba Wi Busshe xvj^s Et in redditu aretro Joh^s Warene
viij^s vj^d in redditu Ric^{di} Gilbert v^s in redditu Rob^{ti} Goodeynoughe
xij^d in redditu forme ovium Ecclesie ij^s quorum plegium et
redituum aretro existentium summa est iiij^{li} x^s ix^d Et ultra
deliberati sunt tres annuli deaurati cum j^o studdo, et preterea
eisdem deliberati sunt in veteribus plegiis, prout supradictum
xv^s in j^a patella, j cawdrena, et Ketyllo et viij dosennis stanum
et j candelabro. Summa totalis deliberationum v^{li} xiiij^s

No. 67.*

A.D. 1541-2.

ECCLESIA SCTI MICHAELIS EXTRA.

Here folowth the acco'pte of Sr William Fisshyr and Mr John
Clemente procu'tors of y^e said Churche fro' y^e firste Sonday
nexte afr y^e feaste of y^e enlevyne thowsand v'gyns in the xxxij^{the}

* This is the first account rendered in English, after an interval of four years between the last and this. It is given *in extenso*, as the first specimen of its kind.

yere of y^e reigne of o^r sov'aigne lorde Kynge Henry the viij^{the}
unto y^e saide feaste then nexte folowyng in y^e xxxiiij^{the} yere
of y^e reigne of o^r saide sov'aigne lorde y^t is to say for one
yere co'plete.

ARRESAGIA IN MONIES AND PLEGGIS.

In primis the saithe accomptantes recevyd in mony at there entre
as appert by y^e laste accompte of y^e above namyd Sr William
Fysshere and Thomas Palmere thre powndes viijs ij^d ob. they
recevid allso certeyne plegges amontynge to y^e sum of xlvij^s
vj^d w^c plegges be thes, a lome in xvjs a gown in xs brasse
and pewter in xvs and w^t John' Warrene in mony vij^s vj^d

Summa v^{li} xvjs viij^d ob.

THE RENTES OF ASSISE.

The yerly rente of assys perteynyng to y^e saide churche is
xj^{li} xx^d by y^e yere as appert by a rentayle made y^e yere y^t
T. Parkere and T. Kente were procur^r there y^e xvijth yere of
y^e reygne of o^r said soveraigne lorde above reherside.

Summa xj^{li} xx^d

CASUALL RECEPTES.

The saide acc^{tes} dothe accompte of vjs iiij^d recevyd of Rob^t Hyll'
made of a stone of ale, and of ijs recevyd for iij quartrem of
led, and of xvj^d recevyd for knelles ijs yere, and of ijs iiij^d
for woode and chypps, and of ijs ij^d recevyd of y^e holye lofe,
and of xij^d recevyd of y^e coferer of y^e cyte, and of ijs vj^d for
old bras and pewter.

Summe of casual receytes xxij^s ij^d

The totall summe of alle accomptantes recyethe (*sic*) y^{es} allowances
folowyng.

RENTES RESOLUTE.

In primis of vij^s iiij^d payd to y^e baly of y^e cite of bathe for
langables oute of dyvers tenementes perteynyng to y^e s^d
churche, of ijs viij^d paide to y^e master of Seynte Johns in
bathe out of dyvers ten^s of y^e s^d churche, more of xx^d p^d
to y^e Kynge y^t tymys paste was dew to y^e abbote of seynte
Austens of brystowe out of a tent^e in Walcote strete, and
more of iijs iiij^d to y^e parson of y^e churche oute of a ten^{te}
late in y^e tenure of John gunnere, more of ijs xj^d p^d to y^e

proc^r of y^e cite of bathe oute of dyvers ten'tes of y^e same church of xij^d paid to y^e cofferer of y^e cite of bathe oute of a ten'te in Walcote strete, and of ij^d p^d to y^e heyres of Henry Champnes oute of a ten'te of y^e s^{de} church, some tyme in y^e holdyng of Thomas battene.

The sum of resolute rentes xxj^s j^d

DEFAUTE RENTES. (*These have all appeared before.*) Summe xxxj^s vj^d

CUSTOMARY EXPENCES.

The s^d acc^{tes} forther requirethe iiij^d for potacione y^e day of accompte; of xx^s p^d to y^e Vycare of Stalles for y^e beste cope, of iiij^s p^d to masyns workyng at y^e towns ende and at bakers howse, of v^s p^d to laborars y^t servyd y^m and to frethe dawbe and clenynge y^e s^d howsys; of xx^d for v lodes of sand to y^e s^d worke; of xvj^d for iiij sakkes of lyme, of v^s iiij^d p^d for ij c bordes; of v^s for lampe oyle; of xv^d to a thachere and his manne j daye and a halfe; of viij^d for ij dosyns helme; of v^d for v c spekes; of xvij^d for ix semys of thornys occupyed at y^e towns end; of xij^d p^d to W. byar for ij rafters y^{re}; of xj^d p^d for hewynge of tymbre; of vj^s ij^d for sawynge of bordes; of viij^d p^d for Twistes, hokes and staples; of v^s v^d for bell ropes; of xij^d for borde nailles and other naylles; of viij^d for bere and mendynge of y^e belles; of ij^s to a carpenter for iiij daies labour makynge wyndows and doores in y^e hows at ye towns end; of v^s viij^d for half a quarterne of wax; of xiiij^d for makynge y^e pascall; of iiij^d for wachynge y^e sepulcare; of iiij^s for xij sakkes of lyme occupyd in dyvers places; of ij^d for clenynge hangynge of y^e lampe and for a corde to y^e same; of xx^d for trussynge y^e bells and for nailles and Ire worke; of iiij^d to R. Dige for makynge y^e hege of his garden;
 of viij^s viij^d for a m^l and ij c tyle stons; of ij^s vj^d to y^e tyler and his manne; of ij^s iiij^d for mendynge y^e church wyndows; of vj^d for kepyng y^e clocke; of xj^s to Larance for settyng up y^e clocke; of xx^d to on y^t helpyd hym; for ropeys to y^e clocke; castynge y^e porfis (?) and for lates; of xx^d for tymbre to make y^e clocke hows; of xx^s p^d for y^e clocke

of vij^d to ye parson for candylles alle ye yere; of xij^d for wasshyng of churche clothes; of xij^d for ye dynere ye day of accomptys; of xx^d for wrytynge ye accompte.

Summa totalis of custumary expences,

OBITES AND DOLES.

ix^{li} ijs xj^d

Allso of xxxviij^s x^d for obittes and dolys this yere.

Summe of all charges costes and expences above wryttene amo'the, xiiij^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

No. 68.

A.D. 1547-8.

Computus Hen^{ci} Moore et Joh^s Clemente Junioris Procuratorum
ibidem An^o regni regis Edwardi vj^{ti} primo usque An^o ejusdem
regis Edwⁱ vj^{ti} secundo.

Imp^s ye s^{de} accomptantes recevyd in money and dettes iiij^{li}, xvij^s
The rentes of assise xj^{li}, xx^d

CASUALL RECEITES.

The s^{de} acc^{ntes} dothe acco'pte of ijs of incresid rente of ye ten'te
y^t Philipe Masyn dothe hold.

And of xx^d recevyd for a tablement* y^{et} an Image of seynte
cristofere peyntyd on ye same.

Item of ijs viij^d recevid for ye shrowd† of an elme.

Item of xij^d recevyd of gunte for a tablement.

Summa vij^s iiij^d

The totall sum of all ye receytes of ye yere is xv^{li} vij^s
Of ye w^{ch} ye s^{de} acco'ptes requirethe ye allowances folowyng.

*The same payments as before, except the rent formerly paid to the
Abbot of S. Augustine's, Bristol, and then to the King, now stands
thus,*

Of xx^d p^d to ye trinitie colege of brystowe oute of a ten'te in
Walcotstrete.

Summe of resolute rentes xx^s j^d

DEFAUTE RENTES.

*The same as formerly, except of xx^s of ye tent y^t ye diere‡ dothe
hold; of iiij^s of ye stable y^t ye s^d diere dothe hold.*

Summe xlv^s vj^d

* Picture, or altar piece.

† The head branches cut off.

‡ ? The dyer.

CUSTUMARI EXPENCES.

Item y^e s^d acco'ptes dothe require allso allowance of iiij^d for bred
and ale y^e daye of acco'pte

.. .. .

Of iij^s alowed to y^e person y^t he had leyd oute to y^e use of y^e
churche not befor' alowed.

.. .. . *Various repairs.*

Of vj^d to a clarke makynge o'r bylle at a visitacon hold at stalles
churche.

Of viij^d paid hoth^e* at y^e s^d visitac'on; of xvij^d to y^m of y^e
parishe y^t appered for y^t daye in mete and drynke.

Of ij^s for Whyght' lymynge y^e churche; of ij^d for a plate to a
coffer' in y^e churche; of ij^d for clenynge y^e churche when it
was whight lymyd.

Of ix^d for ij sakkes of lyme; of vj^d to gravell' for mendynge J.
Whishtes sete in y^e churche.

Of viij^d for mendynge y^e loftes of y^e tent^t of J. Whyght' and for
bordes and for tymbre for a threshall occupied at y^t sa^d tent.

Of xij^d for fellynge of an elme; of xix^d for squarynge y^e s^d elme.

Of vij^s ij^d for makynge y^e sawe pytt and for sawynge y^e sa^d elme
to bordes

Of vij^d for carynge of bordes from y^e ellmes.

Of jd for ryddyng of rubbell oute of y^e churche.

Of ob in drynke to gravell, of iij^d to y^e same for mendynge a
fawte abought y^e hye awtre.

Of jd for paper at y^e visitacion at Welles, of ij^d to rich^d Johns
for wrytyng.

Of xvij^s iiij^d for costes upon y^{em} y^t appered at y^e visitac'on.

Of xvj^d for peyntynge of y^e hye awter.

Of iij^s iiij^d for y^e costes of y^{em} y^t did appere at y^e sa^d visitac'on.

Of ij^d for a seme of thornys to y^e garden of ric.' Bakare.

Of iiij^d for makynge of wax agenste mydsum'er.

Of xvj^d for makynge a clapper for one of y^e belles.

Of ij^s for wrytyng and o'r charges at y^e byshops visitac'on.

Of vj^d to y^e two pro'tors sekynge y^e good wylles and gentilnes
towardses y^e parsons levyng.

* Oath.

Of ij^s for y^e servys boke in Englishe; of xvij^d for iij sakkcs of lyme.

Of ij^d for wrytynge a byll at y^e visitac'on before myhelmas.

Of iiij^d for expences upon y^e iiij y^t appered at y^e sa^d visitac'on.

Of ij^s xj^d to a thatcher for 5 days worke, and xx^d to a labarare servyng hym.

Of vij^d for vij^c spokes for y^e same.

.. .. . (Many repairs.)

Of xj^s iiij^d for y^e booke of (*blank in orig.*)

Of v^s vj^d to a carpenter for makynge fowtheres* kychyn.

Of xvj^d for ij^c of tyle; of ij^d for y^e cariage of y^e sa^d from y^e Abbaye.

Of iiij^s x^d for tymbre thorns and other shushe stuffe occupyd at William Sotheres.

.. .. . Summe of custumarye expences vijj^{li} xix^s ix^d

Obittes and dooles this yere amo'tethe to xlj^s iij^d and so y^r restythe to y^e use of y^e churche xxvijs v^d Whereof y^r restythe upon y^e diers xijjs iiij^d, upon brokes xij^d, upon John Coffyn vjs vj^d wth y^e parishe for grace upon y^e acco'pte and upon y^e sayd acco'ptantes restythe upon y^e acco'ptantes vjs vij^d; whereof y^e parishe alowd hyme for charges layd owt and not above allowd ijs iij^d; and so he ow't declare upon him selfe iiij^s iiij^d and y^{er} was chosyn wardens of y^e said churche John Clement y^e younger and S^r rycharde Fyssher, parson y^{re}

No. 69.

A.D. 1549-1550.

Compotus Wi Fisshere clerici et P. Clemente Jun^r Edw. VI^{ti} tercio—quarto.

Inprimis y^e sayde acco'ptantes dothe acco'pte of iiij^{li} iij^s viij^d recevyd in mony at y^e entre over and above xviijs iiij^d restynge upon J. Haye for rente as it appert^t upon y^e fote of y^e laste acco'pte and of xxij^d upon als playce and of xxviij^d upon T. Tylere. Summa arreragiorum v^{li} v^s iiij^d

RENTS OF ASSIZE, xl^{li} xx^d

* A name.

CASUAL RECEYTES. Item ij^s of incresid rente of y^e tent^e y^t P. Masyn dothe hdde y^e totall summe of alle y^e receytes of y^e yere is xvj^{li} ix^s of w^e y^e s^{de} acco'ptantes requirethe y^{es} allowances folowyng.

RESOLUTE RENTS, *as in preceding roll.* Summe of oute rents, xxj^s j^d
 DEFAUTE RENTIES, *not so numerous as the last, "the diere," not appearing.*

Summe xxvj^s vj^d

CUSTOMARYE EXPENCES. Item y^e s^d acco'ptantes dothe require allso allowance.

Of iiij^d for breade and ale y^e daye of y^e acco'pte.

Of vj^d for a borde occupyde at y^e tent^e of y^e preste, of v^d to a carpenter for makynge windowe loois at y^e s^d ten'te; of ij^d for mendynge a twiste of a dorre of y^e s^d tente.

Of xiiij^d for helme spikes roodes a hurdyll' and y^e handwarke of a thatchere at y^e tente of Thomas tylere.

Of ii^s viij^d for brynggyng y^s churche bokes to Welles.

.. .. (Various repairs.)

Of viij^d at byshops visitac'on.

Of x^s for tyles and bordes; of iiij^d for mendynge of segis in y^e churche

Of xx^d for sande occupide in y^e churche and at brokes howse.

Of xvij^d for y^e handiwarke of a masyne at y^e s^d tente; of xv^d to a labarare servyng hym and pullynge down of y^e hy awter; of vj^d for wasshyng y^e awter places wth lyme.

.. .. (Many repairs, not varying in nature or prices from former ones, ending with)—

Of xx^s to y^e parson towards his levyng.

Summe vj^{li} vij^s vij^d

OBYTTES AND DOLES, xlj^s iiij^d

And so y^{re} restythe to y^e use and profyt of y^e sayde churche alle charges and expences deductyd and alowd v^{li} xij^s ij^d

Whereof y^{re} restythe upon Thomas longe xx^s, upon Alice plaice viij^s, upon thomas tylere xvij^d, upon y^e dier John Hare xxxij^s iiij^d, upon John baylye iiij^s, upon richard Whight xx^d, upon W. Sudayee v^s, upon William Howell xx^s, upon henry More xiiij^s Summe v^{li} v^s vj^d and upon y^e saide acco'ptantes there restythe vj^s j^d

No. 70.

A.D. 1551-2.

Compotus J^s Clemente jun^s et J^s Walle procuratorum ibidem,
an^o regni Edwardi sexti dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie
regis Fidei defensoris ac in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice
supremi capitis quarto usque ad Festum an^o regni ejusdem
regis quinto.

ARREARS of last roll and names of sureties repeated.

RENTES OF ASSISE, as before. INCRESYD RENTE, as before.

Totall sum of all y^e receytes of y^{is} yere is xvj^{li} xv^s iij^d

RESOLUTE RENTES, as before, xxj^s j^d DEFAUTE RENTES, xxxiij^s

CUSTOMARYE EXPENCES.

Of vj^d spent in brede and ale y^e daye of y^e acco'pte.

Of vj^s viij^d paide for y^e stuffe and makynge y^e communyon table.

Of viij^s paide for a carpete to y^e same.

Of vij^s for mendynge ye clocke.

.. .. Various charges for thatching and repairs.

Of iij^s iiij^d for pavyng worke bettwyxe J. Clementes house and
the pype.

Of iij^s iiij^d for expences goynge two tymes to y^e ordynaries
Vysytac'on.

Of xl^s govyn by y^e concente of y^e paryshe towards y^e byldynge
of y^e market house.

Of xx^s lefte by y^e salle of y^e moy'e.

Of iiij^s for y^e kepyng of y^e clocke, of xij^d for wasshyng y^e
churche clothes this yere, of xij^d for the dynare y^e daye of
acco'pte.

Of xx^d for makynge the presydenste of y^e acco'pte.

Of xx^d for ryddyng or cariage of stonys from y^e tent^e of W.
Howell.

Summe vj^{li} xvij^s iij^d

OBYTTES AND DOLES.

Item of anniversaries* paid to y^e kynge xx^s

Item in distribuc'ons to poore pepulle xxj^s iij^d

The totall summe of all y^e expenses and charges y^{is} yere
amo'tythe xj^{li} xiiij^s vj^d And so y^e restythe to y^e use of y^e s^{de}
churche v^{li} iij^s ix^d Charged upon the same sureties as before, with
the addition of, upon Sr William Fisshere vj^s j^d

*This is the first notice of anniversaries paid to the king. Obits and anniversaries were granted to Hen. VIII, but he never claimed them.

No. 71.

A.D. 1556-7.

The akount of Thomas Parker and John Clemente proctors of the Church of Saynt Mychaels without the gate of bathe the Sonday after the elevyne thowsand virgins an^o regnorum Phylippii et Marie Regis et Regine tercio et quarto.

The Rentcs of assis belongeth to the sayd churchc by the yere to the yerly valure of xj^{li} xx^d as aperythe by owld recordys.

RENTES RESERVYD.

Imprimis rec^d at ye last account by thandes of Thomas Longe xii^j^d and xii^j^s iii^j^d of John Baylly v^j^s vii^j^d of Robt Smythe v^s of Will'm Howell vii^j^s v^j^d of Maystere Clemens v^s mad of the church alle, v^j^s v^j^d rec^d at Estere for ye holly loff, iii^j^d Rente of Will'm byl.

Summe xlviii^s ij^dThe summe of the holl debit xii^j^{li} ix^s ii^j^d

OUT RENTES.

Item vi^j^s iii^j^d to the bayly of bathe for Longabells.

ij^s vii^j^d to the Mr of Saynt Jonnes.

*xi^j^d to Saynt Austyns in brystowe.

iii^j^s iii^j^d to the parson, iii^j^s ix^d to ye chambre' of ye cytty of bathe.

ij^d to the hyrris of Harry Chumneys.

Summe xx^s ij^dDEFFAWLT RENTES. *Same names*, xxviii^s v^j^d

CUSTUMARY EXPENCES.

Imprimis v^j^d for the potacyone.

ii^s iii^j^d for a Gallone of Oeylle.

ii^j^d for a lampe of Glasse, v^j^d for to tapers, xi^j^d for ij bordys for ye sepulker.

ij^d for papere, ij^d for mendynge the Sanntus belle, vii^j^d for wyre for ye cloke.

ii^j^d for a tapere, vii^j^d for a borde to W. Howells doorre.

ij^d for fellyng an elm, j^d for Rushe candells.

ij^s x^d for a maneele (? *Manual*) for the Churchc, xi^j^d for ij tapers.

j^d for the lyn' of the Sanntes Belle.

vii^j^d for pluckyng an elm owt of the wattere.

* This was evidently restored by Queen Mary.

vj^d for howselynge bred and syngyng bred.

xj^s for elevyne pound of wexe, xvj^d for makyng newe wexe and the owlde.

ij^d for drynke when my lord bishope was herre.

ij^d paid upone Sher* thursday.

xxij^d for too towells to the churche, xvij^d for a clothe for the dexe.

v^d for holly oyelle, viij^d for wachenge the sepulkere.

iiij^s viij^d fer wyne at Estere, iiiij^d for a hors hyrd.

v^s vj^d for goynge to Welles, iiij^s for a laborer for the church yard.

xvj^d ij^d at pensford to the beshope.

iiij^d for the squarynge of a tre, ij^s vj^d for sand to Mr Davys.

vj^d to a laborar one day for to feche the sand, j^d for papere.

iiij^s to a laborere abowt the churche yeard.

v^s ix^d for banners to the churche.

vj^d for Ryngyng in the Rogasion weke, xiiij^d for a pottell of oyll.

xij^d for twystes to the churche doorre, ij^s x^d for bordes and nayllys to the sam.

xij^d for bred and wyne, xij^d for makynge of the same Doorre.

vj^s viij^d for mendynge the cloke, xiiij^d for Irun worke to the same cloke, ij^d for a gemeye, ij^s vj^d for towynge of hors hyd.

j^d for mendynge the Towre, iiij^s ij^d to a mason apone the tenement of Johan Whytte, ij^s vj^d to a laborere for the same wurke.

iiij^s vj^d for sond and lyme to the same wurke.

.. .. Other repairs of a like kind.

xj^s iiij^d to a masone for makynge a chymney in the tenement of

Th^s Saunders, vj^s vj^d to a laborere apone the same woorke.

viiij^s for stonys to the same chymney.

iiij^s at the last vysytac'on at Keynsham, xiiij^d for wyne.

iiij^s for stonys caryge to the tenement of Thomas Saunders.

†.. .. to John Walley in parte of payment of the vestementes.

* The old name for Maundy-Thursdays, "for that in old Fathers' days the people would that day *shere* theyr hedes and clypp theyr berdes." Others derive it from *Sheer*, *mundus*, alluding to the washing of the disciples' feet, and tantamount to *clean*.

† The sum is blank in the original. The parish was of course obliged to provide again the vestments for service.

vjd for squarynge of an elme, iij^s vjd for sawynge ij c and a quarter of bordes.

.. .. .
viij^d to Will'm Stevyns for goynge to Wellys, xxiiij^d for goynge to Pensford.

xvj^d for kepenge of the bellys, xij^d for washenge of the church clothes.

iiij^s for kepenge of the cloke, xij^d for wryttinge of the paper boke.

vij^d for bred and wyne, j^d for mekyng of to tapers.

vij^d for a quart of oeylle, viij^d for wyne for the Church.

iiij^d to the church of Saynt Marys* wytin the gatte.

iiij^d to the mayster of Mawdelyne.

xx^d for the makyng of this presedent.

ij^s for owre dinere, iij^d for beryng of the banners at dyvers days.

The remainder of this roll is wanting ; then occurs an hiatus of nine years.

No. 72.

A.D. 1563.

Seynte Mikeelles parishe w^t owe Northe Gate In the Citte of Bathe, an^o 1563. The Accownte of Mr. John Walle Awllder-man' of the Citte of bathe and thomas longe proctors and wardens of y^e Church a fore seide made by them yn y^e presens of y^e hole parishe yn the seyde Church y^e Sunday after y^e daye of y^e Elevene thusande Vyrmins in the Sixthe yere of the Raynge of owre Soverayng lady Elizabethe by the Grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland etc.

THE RENTE OF ASSYS,

beyng xj^{li} xx^d ys nowe incresed to y^e yerli value of xj^{li} ix^s as aperethe by the laste presedens.

Summa xj^{li} ix^s

CASUAL RESSEYTES.

Item receyved of Thomas Parker toward y^e Glasynge of y^e Church Wyndows vij^s iiij^d

Summa vij^s iiij^d

*This and the next payment are taken from the obitts and anniversaries : but the Roll being imperfect, it does not appear whether Queen Mary took any portion of them for herself.

OWTE RENTES AND DOOLES.

Item xx^s to the qwene for obbetes.

vij^s iiij^d to the bayle of y^e citte, iiij^s to the chamber of y^e cette.

xx^d to y^e Trinete of brystow, ij^s viij^d to y^e Mr of Seynt Jonnes,
iiij^d to The Mawdelene.

iiij^d to Seynt Marys wth in northe gatte, xxj^s iiij^d gevene to ye
poore.

Summa lvij^s viij^d

CUSTOMARYE EXPENSES. Item iij^s for vj sackes of lyme bestowed
apone y^e churche and other tenementes.

vij^d for whitlyming of y^e churche at one tyme ; iij^s for iij dayssse
worke to poynte and whitlimyng y^e churche agen.

vj^s for makynge of a poynine apone the tenement y^t brookes dothe
howld ; x^d for a lood of stones to y^e same ; ij^s for iij lode of
same to y^e same

vj^d for a sake of lyme to y^e same ; ix^d to a tiller for halfe a dayssse
worke and one to serve him apone the churche ; v^d for halfe a
dayssse worke more apone y^e churche

ij^s for paving of y^e stret before owre tent^t yn seint James parishe
xix^d for sand and stones to the same.

iiij^d for pargetyng of a walle of y^t tent^t ; x^d to a tiller for a dayssse
worke apone the same.

iiij^s for iij dayssse worke to a mason to make y^e walle of y^e church-
yard.

xv^d to a laborer to y^e same ; ij^d for skabeling of stones at y^e
qware for y^e same worke ; iiij^s iiij^d for carege of y^e stones.

vij^d for mendynge of twystes and lokes and naylles to set theme
one for y^e dores of the churche yard.

xj^d for lether to make a bawdrike and makynge of a bawdricke
and a pine to y^e same.

.. .. (*Many Repairs and Thatchings.*)

vj^d for ernest of glasyng of y^e churche wyndows.

lvj^s viij^d for glasyng of y^e weste wyndow and mendynge of
other wyndows of y^e churche ; iiij^s iiij^d for glasyng of y^e
sowthe wyndowe of y^e churche ; iiij^s for glasyng of y^e este
wyndowe in y^e yle nexte y^e Chaunsell.

vij^d for makynge of a plate of Ire for y^e cloke.

ij^s for to paan'es* of y^e ten com'aundementes to set yn y^e churche.
viiij^d to y^e somnere when he set y^e accownt of y^e dwellynge
howsses yn y^e paryshe.

iiij^d to y^e somnere when he warned us to y^e archdecons vyssitasyon
ij^s to y^e archdecon at y^e vysitasyon.

viiij^d for makynge and delyverynge of owre byll at y^t tyme.

ij^d to make y^e postes drinke.

iiij^d for y^e proclamyson of y^e wensdays fast.

x^s j^d to y^e levyng for tenthes for y^e parson; x^d for conver-
sassyons.

iiij^s for kepyng of the cloke. vj^d for a sake of lyme y^t ys in y^e
churche.

ij^s ij^d for to dyssene of helme y^t ys perte bestowed apone y^e tene-
ment and perte ys to bestowyng at their howses.

viiij^d for iij plaates of Ire and naylles to set them one apone the
tent y^t Mathew Howell dothe howld.

iiij^s iiij^d for Rereges† for y^e persone payde at Pensford.

xxxj^d taken up to myself y^t y^e churche owed me of y^e laste
cownte.

xij^d for y^e kepyng of y^e paper boke.

xx^d for parchement and wrytyng of the presydens.

ij^d for a gwyttens for y^e payment of Rereges for the parson.

Summe viij^{li} xix^s ij^d

And so aperethe apone this acownt y^e churche owethe to Mr.

Walle all thinges dedockted xx^s vj^d

Item yn the handes of Nycolas long v^s

And so ys apoynted for this yere to come proctors and wardens by
the assent of y^e paryshe and sworne, Thomas long and John
Wyet.

No. 73.

A.D. 1564.

The acou'pt of John Wyet and Thomas Parker, Eliz. 7th.

RENTES OF ASSIS', *as before*, and xij^d resevyd of Mr. Meyer for a
knelle for his wyffe.

OWTE RENTES AND DOLLES, *as in last account*.

* Pannels.

† Arrerages—arrears of salary.

EXPENSES AND REPARAC'ONS. Inprimis a j^d for paper ij^s iij^d for charges going to Welles at on' tyme. xij^d for a sortyfyca^{*}thes* making that we send to my lord byshope to Welles. iij^d for a twyst and naylles to set hime one apone the churche dore.

v^s to a thatcher for v dayesse worke and a halfe apone the tene-mentes that harre Moore and John Saye dothe howlde. ij^s viij^d to a laborer to the same worke. ix^s j^d payd to pawlle and Shute of Hamptone for helme to y^e same worke. xx^d to Master Walle for helme to y^e same worke. xxi^d to Wyllyame Ap yeoane for helme and spekes to y^e same worke. ij^s viij^d for xvj hundred of spykes more to the same worke.

iiij^d to the clarke to go to comhawey† to Wylles abowght the dressynge of the belles.

vij^s payd to Wylles for his worke abowght the belles. xx^d to a laborer to the same worke. ij^d for a pownd of candels abowght the same worke. v^s payd to Wyllyam Cokes for Ire worke and naylles to the same worke. xij^d for a newe bawdrike for one of the bells.

ix^d to Rob^t West for a dayesse worke to mend y^e over lofte of the towre.

fij^d to a laborer to helpe hime abowght the same worke.

xiiij^d payd to Mestres ludwelle for a corde for the small peisset of the cloke. iij^s to the clarke for keypyng of the cloke.

vj^d payd to the clarke for wasshyng the churche clothes.

ij^s to a tyller for his worke upone the tent^e that harre Warde dothe howld.

xij^d for ij sakes of lyme to the same worke.

xx^d payd to the chime maker yn ernest of his bargane.

xij^d for keypyng of the paper bocke.

Payd to Mr. Walle y^t the churche owed him xx^s wyche xx^s he hathe given to y^e makinge of the Chime,

iiij^s payd to the parson over and a bove his wages.

ij^s for parchment and making this a cowmpte.

iiij^d payd to Harre Ame for setting up of a piese of tymber yn the towre.

* Certificate.

† Combehay, anciently Comehawey, from the family of Hawey, Will. I.

‡ Weight.

iiij^{li} layd owt toward the makyng of the chime.

Summe viij^{li} ij^s v^d

So that ther ys for this yere proctors and wardens apointed and some yn the presens of the parishe Thomas Parker and John Wyet and dothe remayne yn the handes of John Wyet yn mony y^t laketh of the rent of this yere xxxviij^s

No. 74.

A.D. 1568.

The acoumpte of thomas Parker and Henry Wryte, . . . the sondaye after Seynt Ursulas daye yn the tenthe yere of the Rayne of our Soveraing Lady Elizabethe, etc.

RENTS OF ASSIS', *as before*. OWTE RENTES AND DOLLES, *as before*.

DEFAUTE RENTES. Item xij^d apone a ten^t that Wyllliame Benet doth'e howld yn Brodstret. ij^s apone the ten^t that Wylliam Heyward dothe howld. xvj^d apone the ten^t that Wylliam Horsyngtone dothe howld.

Summe iiij^s iiij^d

EXPENCES OF REPRASYO'S.* Imprimys vj^s xj^d payd to John Weyet that was owed him apone his acou'pte.

xvj^d for charges to go to Pensword to a vysy'tas'on, ij^s for a Ingu'gkeyon† send frome the bysshop, v^d for a qwart of seke that was gevene to the offycyall at his beyng here, x^s to the lettre, ix^s xj^d for tenthes.

vij^s to harre wryt for a peesse of tymber, iiij^s ij^d for sawynge of the same pesse.

vij^d to glaseer for mendyng of the churche wyndos.

xij^d to Rynggers to Ryng whene the Duke† came yn.

j^d for oylle for the belles.

vj^s iiij^d to the paveers for theyr woorke, iiij^d for mendyng of a bawdryke.

ij^s viij^d to the byshope for pro (*sic. procurations?*)

xiiij^s to the chime maker.

* Reprises—allowances.

† Injunction.

‡ "The Duke of Norfolk, who is stated in Bristol chronologies to have come A. D. 1568, 'from Bath to Bristol upon Trinity Sunday, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester' and others, 'but he was sent for by the Queen from thence with all speed.' He was soon after beheaded." *Athenæum*.

vj^d to John belman for makyng elene the churche heye.*

.. .. . *tiling and thatching.*

xv^s vj^d to a thatcher apone the tent^t that John Rebowll dothe howld.

x^d to a laborer for ij dayse to the same worke, xxij^s viij^d for helme and carreg to the same worke, iiij^s x^d for spykes to the same woorke.

ij^s for a carpenter for makyng of dorments† to the same tent

iiij^s for tymber to make the Dorments, xv^d for naylles to the same worke.

v^s iiij^d to the clarke for kepyng the cloke.

ij^s iiiij^d for led and castyng of a peysse for the chime.

ij^d for mendyng of the cloke, ij^d for a Rope for the same bell.

v^d for a gwyttens for the payment of the tenthes.

vij^d I preye allowance for the tent^t that John element dothe howld
Rent free for vj yere, wher of be thre gone.

xij^d for allowance for rente of the parsonage.

ij^d for kepyng the paper bookes, ij^s for makyng this presyident.

Summe viij^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

So that ther ys apo . . . ted for this yere twoe for proctors and wardens and sorwn yn the presence of the paryshe. Henry and Edward a prysse, so that theye must paye to this acomptante v^s ix^d

No. 75.

A.D. 1572.

The accompte of thomas Gyllim and John Llowellen Procttors and Wardens etc. made by them yn the presens of the purrysynars one the Sundaye after the daye of Seynte Ursula yn the xiiij yere of the Rayng of our Soverayng lady Elizabethe etc.

RENTS OF ASSISSE, *as before*, xj^{li} viij^s

CASUELL RESEITES.

Item for the owlde byble vj^s viij^d

Recevyd of the lady that her housband dyed in the aby ij^s ij^d ;
of the chamberlyne xx^d

Summe x^s vj^d

* Yard—lit., enclosure.

† Cross-beams.

OWTTE RENTS AND DOLLS.

Item xx^s to the Qweene for obets, iiij^d for a qwyttens for the payment ther of iiij^d viij^d (*the rest as before*)

Summe lvij^s viij^d

Item he axsethe a lowans of iij^s that is gevin of benevolens to Wylliaame Benet, xij^d of a tenement that he howldethe yn Brodstrete, and iij^s of a tenement that Wylliaame Heyward dothe howld in Wallkat stret.

Summe iij^s

EXPENSES OF REPERASYONS.

Imprimis iiij^s for a Rope for one of the peyses for the cloke, vj^d for a horsse hire to fet him.

x^s iij^d to a carpenter and for tymber naylles and Ier woorke to mend sets in the Church and one of the bell whells, ij^d for candels to the same woorke, xij^d more for mendyng a nother Sete wth naylles and Ier woorke to the same.

iiij^s x^d to a thatcher and one to serve hime wth helme and spyks to the same a pone the tenements that thomas Crouke and John Browne dothe howld.

vj^d for mendyng of the vane of the cloke, iij^s j^d for v saks of lime.

iiij^s iiij^d for pointing of the towr, iiij^d for cradell for that woorke.

iiij^s iiij^d to a tyller to mend the church, xv^d to a plomer to mend the gutters of the Church, iiij^s x^d to a tyller a pone the parsonag wth lathes crestes and naylles to the same.

xij^d for makyng of a hammer for the chimes wth wyre for the same. viij^s for kepyng of the cloke and chime.

iiij^d for makyng clene the church yard.

iiij^s viij^d for lether and makyng of bawdryks for the Bells.

xvij^s vj^d payd toward the parsons wages.

vj^s iiij^d owre charges at owr vysytasyons.

xij^d spend when the byshope was heer, iiij^d for the delyveryng of our bill at that tyme, iiij^d for synggyng bred, v^d for a booke that the parsons bowght.

vij^d geven to helpe by a shroude for John Jenets wyffe.

xx^s to Wylliam Sherstone toward the payment of the nue byble.

ix^s xj^d to the Queene for tenthes, iiij^d for a qwyttens for the payment ther of.

ij^s paid to the Somner for dyschargeyng the boocks for lake of a perens, ij^s for to bocks to mi lord Byshops Somner.

ij^d spend a pone the parsons and Lime at that time.

xij^d to make the Ringers drynk when theye Rounge the daye of the Remembrance of the Crounasyone of our Queenes grace.

vj^s x^d for led and castyng of a peysse for the chime.

xij^d for writing and keping of the paper boockes.

ij^s for makinge this accowmpt.

So ther remayneth to the next accowmpttant John Llowellen yn mony and det v^l ij^s vj^d, that is yn money iiij^{li} xij^s, the det vij^s of John Clement and iiij^s vj^d of Whigtyng. So ther is apoyntted for Wardyns and proctors for the yere to come John Llowellen and Wylliam Baker and some yn the presens of the parryshe.

Somme v^{li} 2^s 2^d

No. 76.

The Roll so numbered is misplaced, as it is Latin, and apparently, from names and other internal evidence, between A.D. 1450, and 1463; it is only fragmentary, written on both sides, the beginning and end wanting. There are numerous repairing and building items, not differing much from what has been already printed. A few of the items under CUSTUS ECCLESIE are worth notice.

Sol. Ade Goldsmythe pro emendacione monstri argenti sive clausula domini nostri Jhesu Christi iiij^d

Et pro perforacione de le burelston* et pro araieccion de iij Aubis et reparacione j^{us} bere iiij^d

Et in j elle panneli . . . empto pro salvacione corone iiij^d

Et pro ij casgs faciendis et cooperacione de le Crowne xij^d

Et Johⁱ Pompe pro reparacione altaris beate Katerine et emendacione arie ante altarem beate Marie Virginis ij^s cum bryckes

Et in j cera emta vocata Jurnalle ix^d

Et in iij novis torchys emptis ponderis lxij lb. cere cum xl de stauro viij^s j^d

Et Johⁱ Axbygge pro scriptura j^{us} tabuli benefactorum nostrorum j^d

* Burelle is a kind of thick red cloth; but what burelston is, I cannot say.

Et pro factura luminis trabe et le v autarum vjs ix^d

j^d ij^d j^s

Et pro babilacione crucis torticium et vexillorum an^o isto j^s iij^d ob.

UTENCILIA REMANENCIA.

M^d de bonis et Catallis ecclesie remanentibus in custodia procuratorum unam crucem ponderis . . . argenti deaurati precium llb. Item j monstrum argente deaurati ponderis precium decem marcas de dono J^s Thode. Item iij^{or} calices argenti unde iij deauratos, ij cruettes argenti j case cum vj coper ad casgs et vj capas unde ij de clothe of goolde de dono domini Joh^s Iwent nupe Rectoris istius ecclesie. Item iij Vexillos unde ij de cilico et ij steyned. Item j annulum et diversas pecias argenti magni crucis. Sub sigillo et remanentes custodia procuratorum. Item . . . (*The rest wanting*).

No. 77.*

A.D. 1575.

The Accompte (Chamb)erlaine of the Cittie of Bath made and delivered in the there before Mr. Will'm Cavell Mayor of the saide Cittie of his brethren the Aldermen and the xxiiij^{tie} beinge the com'n councell of the said Cittie the xth of June in seventhe yeare of or soveraigne ladye Quene Elizabeth as followethe.

RENTES OF ASSISSE.

It appeareth by the auncient Rentall or Rent rolles of the Chamberlaines of the said Cittie as well of the Chamber lande as also for the Scole lande w^{ch} dothe amounte yearly unto the some of cjlⁱ vij^s xj^d

RENTES ENCREASED.

For . . . doores in or leadinge to the Kinges Bathe firste Mr. George Perman v^s ; Mr. Stile v^s ; Mr. Turner v^s ; Mr Matthew v^s ; Mr. Bushe v^s ; William Whibbin v^s ; of Mr. Gore for ij yeares laste paste x^s ; of William Chępman for the Church and precession way ij^s ; of Mr. Bow . . . for or com'on xl^s ; of Mr. Francis yearly xvj^d ; of Th^s Fitch for a Maulte house

*This is a city account ; how included in S. Michael's MSS. does not appear. It is identical in form with those preserved at the Guildhall.

iiij^s ^l; of Mr. Stile for garden vj^s jd^d; of Dowelinge ij^s vjd^d; of Browne the Butcher for his stawle v^s

iiij^{li} xv^s vjd^d

CASUALLE RECEIPTES.

Off William Smallcombe for the laste parte of his fyne and for his seale ix^s viij^d; of W^m for the seale of his house vj^s viij^d; off Nutt for the seale of his lease vj^s viij^d; of John Nashe of Chillecompton for parte of his fyne and seale x^{li} vj^s viij^d; of Walter Milsun for the seale of his lease vj^s viij^d; of John Parkere for his fredome iiij^s; of Agnes Whitpece for parte of her fyne iij^s iiij^d; of Estmeade for his lysence x^s; of Thomas Bryan of the Kathern Wheele for his fredom x^s; of Josias Barry for his fredome iiij^s; of John Hancoke for his fredome iiij^s; of W^m Dicher for his fredome iiij^s; of John Bake for his fredome iiij^s; of Barnabe Harolde for his fredome iiij^s; of Pincarde for contynuanee of his fredome xij^d; of Henry Blacklech for his fyne v^{li}; of Mr. Blensom for his fyne xl^s of Richard Whitpece for his fyne and seale xxvj^s viij^d; of W^m White for his seale vj^s viij^d; of Mr. Mathewe for his fyne and seale ix^{li} xiiij^s ix^d; of Byede of Cainsham for his fyne and seale iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d; of Thomas . . van for his fyne and seal iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d; for myne owen fyne for the house that Harry Denman holdeth and for seale of the same lease viij^{li} vj^s viij^d; For the seale of my Dwelling house viij^d; of John Biddell for his seale vj^s viij^d; of John Hall for contynnuance of his fredome xij^d; of W^m Acton for taxe money againste the quenes coming iij^s *

lxviij^{li} xij^d ex^r

Summa totalis receptarum j^c, lxxiiij^{li} xv^s v^d

STYPENDES.

Paide to Mr. Langeforde for his xx^s; paide to Mr. Tonge the Scole M^r xij^{li}; to the Chamber Laine iiij^{li}; to the Towne Sergeante xl^s; To the Towne Clerke for his fee xl^s; To the Bellman x^s; To Richard B . . . for keping the Northe gate iiij^s; To Pannell for keping the clocke of Stawles viij^s

xxij^{li} ij^s ex^r

* This is the first of several entries, showing that Queen Elizabeth was at Bath in 1574.

OUT RENTES.

Paide to the Baylie of ijs viij^d ; To the Queenes Majestie for lampes and lightes lv^s x^d ob.; for an acquitaunce for the same iiij^d ; paid to St. James parishe iij^s ij^d ; To the parishe of St. Michells w^t owt the gate xx^d ; To Mr. Button iij^s ; To Trinity Colledge for a cheif rent iij^s iiij^d ; To Mr. Weekes of Sodington ijs vj^d ; To the Bailiff of the Cittie for longables x^s, and for St. Michells by the Bathe ij^d ob. ; To the Bailiff of the hundred of Bathe Forum for release of Sute of Cowrte xij^d ; To him more for St Michells by the Bathe vj^d ; To the Queenes Matie for the Scole land x^{li} ; to Mr. Britten for an acquitaunce for the same iiij^d ; To Gregory Style for the tymber close vj^s ; To Mr. Harry Newton for a cheif rente halfe a pounce of pepper xvij^d ; To Mr. Britten for the rent of the . . . arre v^s ; to him for an acquitaunce for the same iiij^d ; To W^m Chapman for the place where the dounge is laide ijs ij^d ; To him more for the Barne that Mr. Kery hathe ijs vj^d

xiiij^{li} xij^s ij^d ex^r

DEFAULTE OR DECAIDE RENTES.

The Scole Mr^s house x^s ; The tenement that John Bearde holdethe iij^s ; The tenement that Degnes Humfris holdethe ijs ; The tenement called the Store house iiij^s

xx^s ex^r

GYFTES AND REWARDES.

Geven to Mr. Huntington for preching the first Sermon in the newe Church vj^s viij^d ; to Perkin for going to Bristowe for him vj^d ; To Th^s Byam for Mr. Huntingtons horse meate the same tyme vj^d ; paid to Hedges for de Lambe geven to S^r Rob^{rt} Lane iij^s ; Item for one capon geven unto hym also ijs viij^d ; Geven to the Queresters of Wells att the Queenes Mat^{is} being heare x^s ; p^d for Fyshe geven to Mr. Estcourte iiij^s viij^d

xxix^s vj^d ex^r

CHARGES BESTOWED UPON THE CONDUITS.

Paide to the plomer for Soder for w^t hout the gates Conduite and for workemanshippe xij^s iiij^d ; To the Bellman for Cordes for the pipes iiij^d ; To Forte for mending St James pipe xij^d ; To the Chawndlelor for Tallowe that the Bellman occupied aboute

the Conduite iij^d ; more paide to a laborer for helping the bellman the same Tyme vj^d ; more p^d to the Plomer xiiij li. and a half of Soder and for his owne labour aboute Stalles pipe xij^s ; p^d to Hewe Hill for helping the bellman att the same tyme for two dayes xij^d ; p^d for the Cariadge of one lode of stones to the Conduite house of St James xx^d ; p^d to Ric^d Tybbett and Th^s Slappe the Freemasons for vj daies worke apeice at xij^d the daie uppon the same Conduite house xij^s ; p^d to J. Biddell the Laborer for iij daies worke att the same place att vij^d the daye xxj^d ; p^d for nailes occupied aboute the same Conduite iij^d ; p^d to the Lockier for a locke for the same Conduite xij^d ; p^d to Forte for Soder for the St James pipe iij^s ; more paide to Forte for Soder for Stawles Pipe ij^s viij^d ; paide to Fytche for Peeche Rosome, curvies, cordes, and other thinges deliverde att divers tymes to mende the pipes as appeareth by his byll xvij^s vj^d

ij^{li} x^s iij^d ex^r

EXTRAORDINARY CHARGES. Paide to the Bellman for grene when Huntington preched at the greate churche first vj^d ; p^d to Heale for dressing the towne gelding that was lame xij^d ; p^d to two soldiors when they went to Wells* ij^s ; p^d to the lockier for scouring of iiij gonnes xij^d ; p^d to Wm. Harrys for leveling the town hall xvij^d ; p^d to a laborer for digging and carying sande to a pavier that wrought by the Cornishe choffe vj^d ; for two galons of Beere for them that mended the way at Westgate vj^d ; for a quire of paper for the halle iiij^d ; to the poore of the Cittie and of the Mawdelens vij^s ; p^d to Paviers for paving by the crosse Bathe and good wiffe Bedfordes dore iiij^s ij^d ; for paving before Newtons dore xvj^d ; for caridg of heare to the Kinges Bathe xvij^d ; for lyme for the Kinges Bathe xij^s vj^d ; to the cutler for dressing of swordes and daggers xij^d ; for grene for the churche when Mr. Slocome preched ther vj^d ; for sowing a lodeshide (?) iij^d ; more for lyme for the Kinges Bathe xvj^s ; for paving lxx yardes by old goodwife Parkers doore vij^s ix^d ; p^{de} to the Painter of Salisbury for his worke

* It will be evident that all the unusual paving, painting, dressing, &c., shown in the succeeding items were occasioned by "her Majesties being heare" in 1574.

done at Westgate the Kinges Bathe and at Northgate iiij^{li}
xiijs iiij^d ; p^{de} for glovers Shreddes to make size for Southgate
vj^d ; p^{de} to Chedghey for dressing of Southgate vjs ; more for
heare for the Kinges Bathe vjs viij^d ; for a Scotishe cappe for
a Souldiour xx^d ; for paying by the newe almes house xvij^d ;
for making Scaffoldes for the painter viij^d ; to a laborer for
digging a dike for the Privy xij^d ; p^{de} to Avery for dressing
the Northe gate vjs viij^d ; to a painter for painting the Guild-
halle dore iiij^s ; p^{de} to one that kepte cleane the Walles of the
Cittie att the Queenes Ma^{ties} being heare ; p^{de} to Mr. Perman
for vij plankes to make the butchers stalls xiiij^s ; for lyme for
the Crosse Bathe xij^d ; p^{de} for cordes for the orac'on place
ij^d ; for iiij^{li} of ledde occupied aboute the Kinges Bathe iiij^d ;
p^d to the tapster of the harte for the gentleman ushers and hys
companyes dynner xij^s viij^d ; for making the orac'on place
xij^d ; p^d for a visitac'on for St. Michaells viij^d ; to the bellman
for dressing the tankardes and for grene vj^d ; to heale at
another tyme for dressinge of the Cittie geldinges xvj^d ; to
Harry Smithe for crestes for the privy xij^d ; to Webbe the
tyler for ix daies worke on the guildhalle vij^s ; for iiij lode of
Sande for the halle ij^s ; for cariadge of ij lode of Stone from
the Abbey to the guildhalle viij^d ; more to Webbe the tyler
x^s ; to the lymeburner for x sakes of Lyme for the halle
iiij^s ij^d ; to Levett the roughe mason for making of Walle in the
Guildhalle vij^s ; for carting one lode of Sand iiij^d ; to Amy
for making the Butchers Stawles viij^s iiij^d ; for Hengells for
the same Stawles vjs iiij^d ; for v purses for the Justices to
gather for the Bathe v^d ; item more p^{de} to Webbe the tyler
for worke done on the guild halle vjs x^d ; for one thousand of
Lathe nailes for the same halle xvij^d ; p^{de} for soder for the
gutter of the same halle vjs ; to the lymeburner for vij sakes
of lyme for the halle ij^s xj^d dd (? delivered) ; to Peter Chep-
man to ride to the Justices vjs ; to the Sawiers for sawing of
plankes for the butchers Stawles xx^d ; to Denny's sonne for
worke aboute the same Stawles vjs iiij^d ; more paide for
Tymber for the same Stawles x^s ; for one dozen of wodde for
the poore at Christmas v^s ; to Harry Smithe for crestes for
the halle iiij^s ; to Harry Shingelton for plankes for the

Butchers stawles ix^s ; to John Parker for his mother for old debt x^s ; to Forte for glasing of Stalles church windowe att the Queenes mat^s being heare iiij^s iiij^d ; item in Breade geven unto the pore in the Lent iiij^{li} ix^s ; for a cowle to cary water in xx^d ; to the Bellman for grene for the new church iiij^d ; to the Sadler for girses (? *girths*) for the Justices when they sate here in Commission iiij^s ij^d ; to Levett for working at the newe privy iiij^s iiij^d ; to Sawyers for sawing tymber for the same x^s ; item to W^m Harrys the Carpenter for framying the same pryvy xxxvj^s ; for nailes for the same pryvye xij^d ; to Ireland for tyling the same pryvye ix^s ; for lathes for the same ij^s j^d ; paide to W^m Stevens that he laied out for Peter Chepmans chardges and his owne and their horses att Wells xx^d ; to W^m Stevens for his owne chardges att Wells waiting on the Commissioners ij^s ; more paide to W^m Stevens for hys owne chardges and Rob^t Jones and their horses att Wells as appeareth by his byll xxij^d ; p^{de} to Rob^t Stevens as appeareth by his byll xij^s x^d ; for the two Lawe daye dynners xvj^s ; to Fitcher for iiij yardes di of blacke frise at xv^d the yarde for the Bellmans coate v^s vij^d ; to J. More the fremason for making of the ringe of the Westgate against the queenes mates comyng v^s v^d ; for Breade and Cakes for the halle in the Whetson weeke vj^s ; for beere the same tyme iiij^s vj^d ; for ale the same time ix^s ; for chease then xx^d ; for grene xij^d ; paide to Mr. Maye for making the certifiycatt for eating of fleshe and the certifiycatt for servauntes wages iiij^s ; for makying and wrighting this presydent and for writing of ij Rentalls of the Chamber lande and Scole lande iiij^s iiij^d ; for making of a paire Indentures of covenantes and an oblygac'on for performance of the same v^s ; paide to John Walley as appereth by his byll xxx^s

Summa totalis lxxij^{li} xij^s

And so remayneth uppon this Accompte unto the Chamber

ij^{li} ij^s v^d

Whereof this Accomptaunte cravethe to be allowed as folowethe :

For Mr. Cavells rente uppon his accompte xxxiiij^s

For Mr. Perman's Rente this yeare as parcell of this bill

iiij^{li} viij^s iiij^d

For Mr. Walleys Rente this yeare in parte of paiement of his
debte uppon hys accompte xx^s viij^d

For Mr. Bewshin* rent this yeare being allowed uppon Mr.
Cavells accompte xl^s

For Richard Jones rente this yeare as parcell of his debte
xxiiij^s

For Peter Chepmans† Rente parcell of his debte iij^{li} xij^s iiij^d
Summe xij^{li} xix^s iiij^d

And so remayneth cleare uppon thys accompte to the Chamber
w^{ch} thys accomptaunt doth acknoweledge hymself to receve in
parte of payement of his debte ^{xx}iiij, viij^{li} iij^s j^d

More ther is a byll delivered unto this accomptant to receve for
the Citie uppon his nexte accompte xxxix^{li} xj^s j^d

*“Buried at Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul (register), 30th August, 1581, Mr. Will. Bewshion, Gent.”

†“In the North Ile, joyning the Chancell (Abbey), 1676, lyeth Peter Chapman of Bath, Gent., who served K. Hen. VIII at Bulloing six yeares, after K. Edward VI, then K. Phillip and Q. Mary; after them Q. Elizab.; who, after he was 84 yeares old, was Serjeant-Major of 800 men going to Tilbury Campe. Buried 23rd Feb., 1602, aged 96.” (MS. in Bodleian Library, by Anthony à Wood.)











